



# *The* **ASIATIC REVIEW**



*Incorporating the Proceedings of*  
**THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION**

**APRIL, 1945**

**VOL XLI No 146**

**SIXTIETH YEAR**

**NEW SERIES      FOUNDED 1886**

**5s per Issue    Annual Subscription £1**

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**AN ORIENTAL CULTURAL CENTRE IN LONDON**

**THE FOOD SITUATION IN CHINA**

**A VISION OF THE NEW INDIA**

**LANNING IN THE INDIAN STATES**

*(See complete list of Contents overleaf)*

*Published Quarterly by*

**AST AND WEST LIMITED**

**CHAMBERS 3 VICTORIA STREET, LONDON, S.W. 1**

*All classes of Insurance Transacted*

**MOTOR UNION INSURANCE Co., Ltd.,**

**10, ST JAMES'S STREET, LONDON, S.W. 1**

*Branches at BOMBAY and CALCUTTA*

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# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

APRIL 1945

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

### THE INDIAN SOLDIER AND POST WAR DEVELOPMENT

BY BRIGADIER F L BRAYNE, CSI, CIE, MC

THROUGHOUT this paper I am assuming that Sir Firozkhan Noon's most important paper read to this Association last summer is within your recollection. At the end of the war about a million and a half Indian soldiers (in this term I include all ranks and all services) will have to be fitted back into the villages and towns of India. They came many of them from humble and very simple surroundings. Some of them even had to be given extra food after enlisting to bring them up to Army standards. In the Army they have been well fed, well clothed, well housed, taught all manner of skills and trades. Many have learnt to read and write, some have learnt English. They have learned to appreciate books, papers, radio, cinemas, dramas, indoor and outdoor games, they have travelled in many lands and rubbed shoulders with the soldiers of many countries. These splendid men will want to keep up some at least of the higher standards they have come to appreciate. But higher standards mean a higher income, and where is that to come from? Higher standards also mean a better environment than that which the sepoy left to join the Army. What has happened to their homes while they have been away? The village, and probably the town too, have stood still, they may even have gone back owing to the pre-occupation of the civil Governments with war work. The village is still in the Middle Ages. It has none of the amenities we associate with village life—no papers, no radio, no reading room, no organized games, no lighting, no sanitation, no pub, no women's institute, no flower show, no Legion rally. Worst of all, the women upon whom more than upon anyone else depends the standard of living, have been subjected to none of the modernizing influences which have so changed the soldier. The returning soldier will speak a different language to the old folks at home.

#### THE SPEARHEAD OF ADVANCE

There are three tasks, therefore, to prepare the soldier, his home folk and village, and his country for the day of demobilization. If the soldier cannot be settled happily into his home, the cranks and agitators will get hold of him and there will be serious trouble. And the tragedy of it is that the best soldier—the man of spirit, leadership, initiative and drive—will make the worst citizen when he finds that the better world he was fighting for is mere moonshine. But this is a poor way of looking at it. Why waste this grand material? Why only get half value for all the time, money and effort spent in training the sepoy? Why not use him to win the peace as well as the war? Why not use him as the spearhead of a great advance in culture and civilization, as the pioneer of a great movement to raise the standard of living in the whole of India?

After all, it will cost as much to hold down a disgruntled soldiery as to uplift a countryside. It will cost no more to whet the whistle of the sepoy with the gift of the gab to teach our programme than to cope with the trouble his tongue could cause if he were thoroughly dissatisfied with life as he found it after the war.

Is it possible to make and carry out such plans as will enable the sepoy when he goes home to maintain standards comparable to those he has learnt to appreciate in the Army? Yes, most emphatically, yes India is primarily an agricultural country and if her countryside were fully developed it could have a standard of living that would provide markets for consumer goods beyond the dreams of the most optimistic industrialist. But, alas! India is terribly undeveloped. Far too little money labour and brains have been put into her soil. She cries aloud for development. It is said that more than £100 has been put into every acre of England. Less than 100 annas has gone into most of the acres of India. Even the Punjab canal system the biggest and best in the world only cost about 30 rupees, or say 45s. per acre irrigated.

#### THE FOUR FREEDOMS

The problem is fortunately far less complicated than the post war reconstruction of England or the U.S.A. If they could express themselves I think the average sepoy and villager would say that their four freedoms were

Freedom from hunger, want, debt and insecurity of crops and livelihood  
 Freedom from disease and suffering  
 Freedom from ignorance and boredom  
 Freedom from the exactions and tyranny of the petty official

Let us start with the first. Erosion is turning India into a desert. Hundreds of millions of acres are losing fertility pasture and arable alike. In a country of long droughts and sharp rain storms all unlevel land unprotected by vegetation is eroding. And practically all unirrigated land is unlevel even though to the eye it appears level and all pastures are being stripped bare of trees and grass by persistent over grazing.

The cure is simple. All pastures hills and uncultivated land must be closed to grazing all livestock must be stall fed and all grass cut and carried to them. All arable land must be levelled terraced and embanked before ploughing (when this is impossible then contour bunding). The results are miraculous and can be seen in many places. Grass multiplies many fold in quantity and quality and trees for fuel and timber soon follow. The arable land soon gives double crops.

After the care of the soil manure—the humble manure pit which is so far almost unused in India. India wastes or burns its manure. Proper cooking grates must be designed to make the most of the fuel and the hay box used to keep things hot and thereby rescue the cow-dung for the soil.

Then come good seed and better methods of farming consolidation of fragmented holdings line-sowing weeding dry farming pest control compost new and better crops pyrethrum teasels fruit and vegetables bottling canning dehydration poultry bees silk lac, dairying, mohair goats wool rabbits the grading up of live stock the controlling of epidemic diseases of livestock by quarantining newly acquired animals. It is all simple and easy once we get down to it.

Along with the improvement of the land and its produce comes the improvement of health and village life. Nutrition will improve with the improvement of farming and once manure pits collect all the rubbish away goes a lot more of the ill health that now causes so much suffering. Add the proper disposal of all waste water from house well street place of worship by leading it away to where it will grow vegetables fruit and flowers, instead of producing black mud, insects and stunk and there will be protective foods for many millions of people. Latrines will remove hookworm and still more ill health. Ventilation vaccination and inoculation are all easy. Malaria will yield to mosquito nets (a good cottage industry) and organization.

#### ORGANIZED VILLAGE LIFE

Health is easy. So are the other necessities and amenities—radio games reading rooms women's institutes and domestic training medical and maternity aid. The co-operative organization—and panchayats—will hold everyone together and produce still more wealth by organized marketing and credit, and the joint buying of seed equipment and raw material and by making everyone work together for their betterment.

Once the village is thus organized everyone will be profitably busy—too busy and too interested to quarrel—and away will go the biggest drain on India's wealth faction and litigation. Social ceremonies, too, and the use of gold and silver for ornaments will be easily controlled (India exported a crore of rupees every week for forty years from 1896 to 1930 to buy silver and gold—her wealth would have been doubled if she had put this money into such things as wells, orchards and workshops)

#### INDUSTRIES BIG AND SMALL

Once the purchasing power of the rural masses begins to rise a boom will start which will give a living to every landless man in providing consumer goods. Quite apart from what happens in the rest of the world there will be an unending market for whatever Indian industry can produce—chaff-cutters, cane-crushers, oil-crushers, flour mills, ploughs, harrows, drills, better housing, cement and bricks and girders, paving and draining of streets, latrines, improved wells, hand pumps, water lifts, engines, dynamos, bicycles, radio sets, hurricane lamps, lorries, mosquito nets, scissors, needles, thread and wool, sewing machines and every other requirement and amenity of farm, craft, home and village. The demand will be unlimited. There are a hundred million homes in India. If every housewife wants a packet of needles and a pair of scissors once a year, if one house in twenty wants a sewing machine, if one home in three needs a bicycle, where will the boom end? The workshops are already there in the villages, not merely making chaff cutters, cane-crushers, cutlery, furniture, knitting machines and pumps, engines and everything else, but making the power-driven machines that work the metal to make these goods. These crafts and this tradition of craftsmanship must be preserved and improved and expanded. If the long distances goods have to travel in India from ports or from the big industrial centres do not give the town and village workshop enough protection to enable it to survive, then it must be helped in other ways, as this is the ideal means of absorbing the temporary or permanent surpluses of labour from the land. One of the best ways of giving the ex-soldier who takes to industry a good start after the war will be to obtain and instal the most modern machinery for crafts and small industries in his training centres, where he may learn to use them before he leaves the Army and perhaps make them himself when he gets home.

#### THE THREE TASKS

As I said before, we have the threefold task of preparing the country, the people and village and the sepoy. For the first there is the large scale planning by the Government of India and the Provincial and State Governments and by the industrialists which, as you know, is now going on. There is no time to speak of this now. We are confident that Government is planning to make the best use of its land, money and other resources for the development of India.

The preparation of the home folks and villages themselves is not receiving the attention it should. Large scale planning must take time to mature and there will be an awkward gap after the end of the war before it begins to benefit the common man. During this awkward gap the sepoy will return with ideas, new skills and experiences in his head and we hope some savings in his pocket. He will find nothing ready; his own people will not understand what he is talking about, and especially his womenfolk will present a blank wall of conservatism and apathy to all his ideas and enthusiasms. Before anything can be done about it the sepoy will be disillusioned and we shall have blunted the spearhead of our attack. No this gap must be filled with a hot gospel uplift programme of the many simple, homely things of which I have spoken, which cost so little and mean so much in health, wealth, welfare and happiness. Although of course they require little or no capital or planning, they do require great vision and drive and leadership on the part of every leader, official and non-official. This plan must be prepared at once and laid on and expanded to the fullest extent that man-power will allow from now onwards. It is already being taught to the serving sepoy and every civil servant of Government must learn, practise and preach it. The moment the fighting stops the best of the soldiers must be switched on to this work as village guides and organizers.

of every grade to prepare the countryside for their comrades when general de mobilization starts. This programme will pull people and Government together sepoys and civil population and will convince everyone that Government is not only in earnest about their welfare but can also deliver the goods. By simple uplift I mean such things as manure pits, good seed, stud bulls, new crops, fruit, vegetables, bees, poultry, ventilators, chimneys, hay boxes, paving and draining of village streets, better drinking wells, better ponds for cattle, better methods of farming, domestic training for women, lady doctors, nurses and trained midwives, co-operative women's institutes, flower gardens, consolidation of agricultural holdings, anti-erosion work, co-operative societies, panchayats, village games.

To sell this programme, both short-term and long-term: (1) a properly organized publicity campaign must be developed. (2) The help of the women must be secured. Civilization is a matter of homes and homes are in charge of women, so that without the co-operation of the women our plans are bound to fail. This means a better homes movement, female education, domestic training, co-operative women's institutes, medical and maternity aid, and every other kind of welfare work for women. (3) Education must be made more practical and must include the teaching and, where possible, practising of this programme, and must instil ideals of service and the duties and the responsibilities of good citizenship. (4) The co-operative system must be expanded to the maximum as the ideal method of organizing and uplifting the vast masses of India. (5) A village savings system must be devised to take the place of the present waste and extravagance and hand to mouth economy and to level out the ups and downs of monsoons, crops and prices.

#### CAN IT BE DONE

If everyone, Government included, puts his land, his skill, his labour and his money to the best and most productive use possible, the standard of living can undoubtedly be raised.

This programme is most certainly possible, but it will take an enormous effort. Combined operations, Government and its servants from the very top to the very bottom, all leaders, official and non-official, ministers and assembly members, all learning, practising and preaching the same gospel, no idlers, no non-co-operators, no waste, all pulling the same way, an Indian plan, provincial plans, district plans, village plans. A co-ordinated drive, full publicity followed by the law when sufficient people appreciate the value and necessity of the change proposed. India must pull herself together as England did after Dunkirk.

This programme combined with a living wage, proper conditions of service and practical training in this uplift business for all public servants, will go a long way to securing the fourth freedom we have postulated, as well as the goodwill and active co-operation of the whole army of petty officials upon whom both the good name and the efficiency and the success of Government so much depend.

Is this picture over-painted? Have I exaggerated the possibilities? No, emphatically no. I have understated them. I have seen all this in operation in various parts of India—nowhere all together and nowhere complete. But the jig saw bits are there if they are put together they will make a new and better India.

#### PREPARING THE SOLDIER

It is fully realized by Government that the only way to give the ex-service man the best possible deal after the war is by a general plan of development. To try and make him a privileged class would do him no good at all. In a scheme of general development, however, the ex-soldier has three chances: he can be employed by Government to plan or to execute or to teach and demonstrate the new life, or along with other citizens, he can make the best of the Government plans, or if he has no land, he can help to provide the goods and services which the rising standard of living will require. The soldier will have the added advantage of his military experience, his new skills, his trained intelligence, his discipline, his comradeship, his leadership and his savings. And, of course, there will be the Army Fund for post-war welfare, which is increasing by several crores of rupees every year.

The average sepoy's own idea at the moment is either to get a grant of land, become an orderly to some officer or other or drive a lorry. Land is strictly limited. He will get most of whatever Government service there is but that too is strictly limited and if half the soldiers who hope to drive lorries do get them there will not be standing room on the roads let alone passengers to fill them.

The serving soldier is being taught his role in the post war world to the extent that time, money and man-power now allow. When the fighting stops it is hoped that training for peace will take the place of much of the training for war and there will be unlimited time, money and man power to teach him. He is being taught that his future depends upon his capacity for self help. By his own labour, savings and skill by co-operation with his fellows and his Government he will win the peace.

We probably cannot teach either farming or handicrafts in full but we can teach the soldier that better things, whether farming or crafts or homes or health are possible, desirable and practicable. We can teach the importance of self-help, hard work and savings. We can teach the sepoy the necessity to keep his eyes open and learn what he can and be ready to go far afield to learn. We can teach him that all the activities of his life will be the better for the application of his brains to them; that custom is no longer a safe guide. We can break down the inhibitions against all kinds of honest work, whether in wood, iron, leather or in growing fruit, vegetables or anything else. We can send the soldier home a thoroughly handy man. We can teach the necessity for co-operation for working with his fellows and with his Government.

All these things are of immense and vital interest to the sepoy. They are therefore an excellent subject to teach. If he is satisfied that his Government and his officers are doing their best for him, he will obviously be a better soldier. This subject will help him to combat boredom if he finds himself in a backwater anywhere. These things are a good link between officer and man, between unit and recruiting area.

As for the actual detail of what is now being done to prepare the sepoy development is so fast that after several months away from India I am out of date. But I do know that small farms and standing exhibitions have already been established at many training centres and are to be extended to more than sixty centres. The Provincial Governments are planning to train Army personnel as instructors—and some have already started—at their own centres in farming, animal husbandry, co-operation, consolidation of holdings, anti-erosion work and a general course of rural reconstruction. Other subjects will follow.

Many Army units keep dairy cattle, poultry and other livestock and still more grow vegetables. The Army itself teaches hygiene and sanitation and will adapt its teaching to the home conditions of the men. The sepoys' interest is being aroused by lectures, discussions, radio talks, cinema shows, gramophone records, books, pamphlets, visits to places and institutions of interest and every other device of popular instruction. Training for Government service is also being planned and the Labour Department of the Government of India is organizing industrial training both for big industry and for rural and cottage industries and is establishing labour exchanges where the sepoy will be helped to find employment. And of course disabled and blinded men will be given what training they are fit for.

We are on a good wicket teaching this subject. Whatever Government rules India, the principles of health, farming and animal husbandry will remain the same. India's taxability will always be low compared with highly developed countries like England. We cannot therefore do better than teach self help and co-operative help.

#### CO-OPERATION

One very important task remains and that is to devise some way of holding the demobilized soldiers together and maintaining their comradeship and loyalty and preventing them drifting apart and wasting not only their savings but all they learnt in the Army becoming sheep without a shepherd and a debit instead of an asset to their country. Very little was done after the last war but everything must be done after this war. District Soldiers Boards have been organized and have a very important task to perform but they are not enough to hold together the soldiers in

their scattered villages and towns. For that something more intimate, more personal is required. An Indian Legion on the lines of the famous British Legion would probably be unsuitable and impracticable. What would be entirely suitable and practicable would be a network of registered co-operative societies to help to provide the many new needs and amenities of the new life we hope the sepoy will lead and demonstrate. Co-operative societies have been designed for every possible object and it does not matter whether the society in any particular town or village is a poultry breeding, a medical aid, a thrift or a better living society. All that matters is that the ex-soldier and as many of his friends as possible shall be bound together in a society registered under the Co-operative Act and supervised by the provincial co-operative staff—reinforced, of course, with trained ex-service personnel. In this way a big brotherhood of service and non service men—and women too, we hope—will be formed, pledged to help each other in the great enterprise of bringing to birth a new and better India. In this way only can we make the fullest use of the ex service man. I am very glad to see therefore that a great extension of the co-operative movement is one of the schemes now being considered for the benefit of the ex-soldier.

The only gaps left to be plugged seem to be (1) the planning of co-operative societies to hold the demobilized soldiers together and (2) the establishment of a satisfactory savings system which can follow the sepoy to his home and continue there with immunity from seizure by law courts and moneylenders. This is absolutely essential if the soldier is to get the best value out of his service and out of the great plans now being made for the development of India.

Except for the gaps—and they are very important exceptions—we may safely say that the future of the sepoy is being very well looked after and it will be his own fault if he goes home in ignorance of the possibilities of making a far better living and living a far healthier and happier life than he did before he joined up.

#### VITAL POINTS NEGLECTED

So much for the plans to prepare the sepoy, his home folk, his village and his country. There are several very important points which it is worth repeating as it is the neglect of them in the past that has made progress so slow and difficult hitherto. Even now they are not receiving the attention they must if our post war planning is not to be a costly failure.

(1) The necessity for a short term programme of simple uplift to bridge the gap until the big plans mature and to prepare the towns and villages and the home folk for the homecoming of those who we hope will be the pioneers of the new way of life. This programme must reach every home in the land and make life better for every man, woman and child.

(2) The even greater necessity of bringing the women in as partners in the great enterprise.

(3) Development policy must be built round the land and the people who live on it. This alone will raise the general standard of living in an agricultural country such as India and give industry the markets it needs for maximum expansion.

(4) Cottage and rural industries must be expanded and organized and not, as in other countries, be sacrificed to mass production. The Indian village is still full of craftsmanship and profiting by the experience of other countries we must maintain and develop this craftsmanship. This will give the ex service man with little or no land, particularly if he has saved a bit of money in the Army, the opportunity he seeks while the new skills he brings with him will give new life to the village crafts, especially if we give him the extra training he needs before he is demobilized and help him with the most modern machines.

(5) A savings system for the villagers and one also for serving soldiers that can go home with them and will be safeguarded from attachment in any law court, and so become the foundation of social security in India.

(6) A proper publicity organization to support the post war programme. Even good beer requires advertisement, still more so does the new and better way of life we hope to see in India after the war.

(7) The maximum development of the co-operative system.

(8) Above all, the flat-out drive I have already described. The uplifting of a

continent is no easy job and everyone, official and non-official must put their whole heart into it only then can we win the peace

#### CONCLUSION

The soldier is very responsive to what his officer teaches him and therefore we have a great opportunity and a great responsibility for laying down standards for the India of the future

If we send home a million and a half I C O s V C O s N C O s and I O R s with a blue print of a better India in their heads with a certain amount of savings in their pockets with a sense of discipline and comradeship and training and leadership we may throw up constructive leaders who will become members of local bodies assemblies and ministries and may solve all India's problems At the end of the last war there were a score of I C O s One of them became Premier of the Punjab and created the Unionist Ministry which for the last seven and a half years has ruled the Punjab more in the manner of a Dominion than of a Province of India

The sepoy is fighting superbly better than he ever fought before He has made India famous While England and America were preparing the sepoy helped to hold the pass and had a great share in the famous victories in Africa which were the first gleam of hope for the Allied cause He is a simple chap with a simple but profound faith in his officers and in his Government The least return we can make to him for his gallantry and for the trust he has reposed in us is to do our utmost not to let him down after the war It is our bounden duty to do everything we possibly can to ensure that he will have the best chance possible of making good in civil life when he returns home after helping the Allies to win the war

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#### DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the Association held at Caxton Hall Westminster on Wednesday January 10 1945 Brigadier F L BRAYNE CSI CIE MC read a paper on *The Indian Soldier and Post War Development* Lord HAILEY GCSI GCMG GCIE presided

The CHAIRMAN said that a letter had been received from Field Marshal Lord Birdwood asking that his regret at his inability to be present might be conveyed to the lecturer whose work he held in much admiration Lord Hailey went on to pay his own tribute to Mr Brayne as they still thought of him He was known not only in the Punjab but throughout many parts of India as one of the leaders in the modern movement for rural uplift, which had left a great mark on Indian domestic history, especially in the Punjab He had not been content merely to state principles or call attention to the importance of the subject but he had perceived that the uplift of the peasant could be brought about only by the peasant's own efforts both individually and in co-operation with others He had worked with an enthusiasm equalled only by his self sacrifice to achieve co-operation between them using every influence he could as a district officer to bring about that result Whatever the practical results of his work might be he had certainly brought home to them all one lesson that the peasant, the man who made the backbone of India had a way of thinking a way of life and needs and requirements of his own very different from those of urban people and that he ought to be made the subject of special study by us

But it was not on rural uplift that Brigadier Brayne was going to address that meeting He was going to deal with the demobilized soldier a subject closely akin and one in which he had also taken great interest In the House of Lords a few months ago the question of the demobilized soldier in Africa was debated, but in India the problem was of even greater range and importance owing to the greater



numbers concerned and the difference in the standards of living of the Indian military class. But in both Africa and India the demobilized soldier might be a great asset to the community, for these men would go back to their homes with a wider outlook and experience and with freshly acquired skill. If however we did not avail ourselves of that asset, then the demobilized men might well become a liability if only because of the disappointment and discontent of the men themselves, adding one more ferment to the many which seemed to be the unhappy lot of India today.

After Brigadier BRAYNE had read his paper,

Major-General Sir DASHWOOD STRETTELL said that he fully agreed with most of the views the Brigadier had expounded. The difficulty in India was the lack of public spirit. Up to the present there had been very little public spirit, and any drive had been too official. The ideas of a Deputy Commissioner were furthered during his tenure of office but were dropped as soon as he went away. There was no continuity, and Brigadier Brayne had suffered a good deal in that way. The Indian commissioned officer and the other ranks would have a great opportunity in this matter of public spirit. They would come back and have an opportunity to impart to the rest of the community the knowledge and experience which they had themselves gained. It would be absolutely wrong to make them a privileged class as compared with their civilian friends and relations. They must be taught and assisted in every way possible and allowed to use their knowledge and experience for the good of all.

He was sure that Brigadier Brayne was quite correct in what he had said about the employment of women. He himself recalled that in India his own soldier driver was one of the smartest men he had ever known but his wife was an incapable woman and he was told that of all the servants quarters this man's were the filthiest. If the women could be taught the value of domestic economy they would insist on improvements. A great drive should be made for the primary education of women, the principal subject in which should be domestic economy.

On the matter of a living wage he thought that the Governments both central and provincial should set an example. The subordinate officials were grossly underpaid with no semblance of a living wage and this system led only to bribery and corruption. He had calculated that before the war in a medium sized town of the Punjab Rs 17 a month was a bare living wage for a man and his wife and three children with a house in addition but with no clothes or travelling expenses but the Government used to pay Rs 12 or Rs 15 a month.

The report of the technical commission on fertilizers he thought to be most important. It was a vital necessity to increase the food output of India. Another matter which Brigadier Brayne had mentioned was the Army fund. This was not in the ordinary sense of the word a Government fund. It was originally intended at a certain period of the war to increase the pay of the soldier and it was thought better to give the money in the form of additional deferred pay. On the advice of the Secretary of the Defence Department Sir Charles Ogilvie half was put to deferred pay and half to the military reconstruction fund so that it was not a Government fund it was the soldiers' money and although it was looked after by the authorities it should not be regarded as other than belonging to the soldiers.

In conclusion he wished to put four questions to Brigadier Brayne. Had anything been done, beyond what he had stated for the women and their education? Had anything actually been done in the way of plans for the Indian officers a large number of whom had had their social status highly raised as a result of their army experience? Had anything been done for the Gurkhas? Had anything been done for the subjects of the Indian States who had enlisted in the Indian Army?

Sir MALCOLM DARLING said that he found himself in some difficulty in commenting on this paper because it was almost a case of saying to everything, 'Yes I agree.' He wished first to join in Brigadier Brayne's tribute to the Indian Army. A soldier who had served alongside the 4th Indian Division in North Africa but who him

self had never been to India, had said to him recently that if they had all fought as brilliantly as that division had fought the campaign in North Africa would have been shortened by several months. He himself was not competent to speak on that point, but he could speak with a little more knowledge of what the Indian soldier was like in times of peace. In 1931 he had had occasion to ride through a part of the Punjab and he had made it one of his special objects to see how the Indian soldier fitted into village life. As a cultivator there did not seem to be very much difference between the ordinary peasant who had not been in the Army and the man who had, but the former was a little inclined to speak scornfully of the soldier's capacity for work. We work night and day said one of them but the soldier he weeps at his work. But if a man had been an officer his mind was much better trained he had a great deal more self respect and tended naturally to take the lead.

If that was the case after the last war when comparatively little had been done during the war in educating and preparing the Indian soldier for the problems of peace how much more might be expected of him when the Government was doing so much for his education. It was the realization of his (the speaker's) hope that the Army would become in India what it had been made in Russia the peasants university.

As to using the soldier as a craftsman he was told very recently by one of our captains of industry who had been out in India that he had been much impressed by the Indian craftsman and he was emphatic that there would be many opportunities—some of which had been indicated in the paper—in which that skill could be used in India's industrial development. It was very important to protect the peasant and the villager from the obvious evils of a rapid spread of the industrial system and of an ever increasing urbanization.

He noted with pleasure the author's insistence upon saving. As a co-operator he was naturally the first to respond to the importance of that. No greater economic revolution could take place in the Indian village than for the peasant to learn to save and not to borrow before he spent. If he could make that small change in his habits a different economic life would be open to him.

He was also pleased to find Brigadier Brayne insisting on the importance of the co-operative society. There was one point on which he desired a little more information and about which he himself could not help feeling doubtful. On one side they had the Indian soldier returning to the village in his hundreds of thousands and behind him they hoped to find mobilized if Brigadier Brayne's expectations were realized Government officials from the highest to the lowest. On the other side they had the peasants themselves over three hundred million of them. What of these millions who were to be made the subject of the drive—the word used by every one in this connection? Too little had been said about the psychological problems involved. When he thought of the high hopes which he and others entertained of the co-operative system nearly thirty years ago how they hoped to see the money lender broken and a co-operative marketing system well established and much else done and how only about 10 per cent of their hopes had been realized he could not help wondering about these new schemes. Brigadier Brayne had sketched out a blue print but how was it to be put into effect in the village? That was the great question which the paper left unanswered. In the light of his own experience he himself would be satisfied if fifty years hence 25 per cent had been achieved. In this connection he would recall what Ruskin had said how in dealing with so subtle a substance as human nature what can be immediately accomplished is always questionable and what can be finally accomplished inconceivable.

Major TILLOK SINGH said that he had discovered that as long as he was in India he did not know anything about India at all. When he left India and travelled in the Middle East and came over to this country he learned quite a lot. The Indian soldier who had been overseas—he had had personal contact with the Indian contingent in France—had a big civilizing effect on returning to his home. Some of the questions these men had asked had been quite beyond his power to answer. If the soldier as a result of his experience had had a big deficiency made up the civilian equally had the same want which should be fulfilled. From his own experience after

the Great War he could say that the returned Indian soldier had been very active in changing to a certain extent the life of the country. He himself was the son of a soldier in the last war and the outlook and life of his father as the result of his Army experience, had had a direct effect upon him.

Much had been done and much else devised since the present war started to prepare the soldier for his return. The soldier was quite alive to the dangers and upset of his post war life, but the war had given him a certain capacity for organization and planning which would be of service in the reconstruction of his country. There was not lacking public spirit in India, and if a proper lead was given the whole outlook of India might be changed.

Lieut.-Colonel G. R. STAVENS, I.A., said that it seemed to him that the key to the problem which was set forth in the paper was given in the single word leadership. If life in the Indian villages was to become more decent and tolerable it was not a matter so much of large plans as of local leadership. In this connection he desired to leave one thought with the meeting. It came out of his experience of Indian troops in the field. When he first became Director of Public Relations in the Indian Army in the Middle East he felt that a mass observation survey would be an excellent means of discovering what should be done for the Indian Armies in the field. For the results of this survey he came to the conclusion that the Indian sepoy today while still very responsive to leadership yet had definite ideas of his own which could be trained to a common end. In the training of those ideas his leadership must be intimate, and the intimacy of his leadership depended in large part upon his officers. What was the position regarding his officers when the war was over? They would leave him and he would be without the leadership upon which he depended.

He drew attention in particular to the VCOs—men with nine to fourteen years service with the sepoys, men who were the backbone of the Indian Army. These were men who would provide leadership in the villages and they should be trained for such leadership while they were in the Army. The first step would be to open the road for promotion of the VCOs into the ICO ranks so that the VCO would have the *cachet* the authority whereby when he did go back to his village he would naturally assume the leadership. There were certain handicaps from the military point of view in opening the road of promotion from the VCO to the ICO but when the advantages of such a system were considered in relation to the plans which Brigadier Brayne had opened out it seemed to him that if the necessary leaders were to be found they would be found in the ranks of the VCOs and the NCOs of the Indian Army and that some provision should be made in order that these men might be advanced and made available as leaders after the war.

Sir ALFRED WATSON said that they must admire the enthusiasm drive and idealism which Brigadier Brayne brought to the problem of repatriating the Indian soldier after the war. It was a problem in which the British would have a great responsibility, but that responsibility would be quickly transferred to the Indian Government. It seemed to him that Brigadier Brayne in his zeal had forgotten some of the pledges which had been made. They were pledged beyond all recall to withdraw from India, to hand over power to Indian hands, and the programme which Brigadier Brayne outlined was one not so much for themselves, except in the initial stages, as for the Indian Government which would presently rule in India. It would be a real tragedy if they did not avail themselves of the vast knowledge of the world and of men which the Indian soldier had acquired in such a way as to help India. Many of the plans which Brigadier Brayne had outlined would require many years to bring to fruition. It would be necessary to go slowly at the beginning. He did not know whether Brigadier Brayne had calculated the financial consequences of the programme he had put forward. India was undoubtedly going to be a richer country—it would be one of the rich countries of the world, but other people besides Brigadier Brayne had their eyes upon the wealth that was available. He was afraid that were they to introduce all the amenities into the 700,000 villages of India—because they were not only considering the Punjab but an area vastly greater—the

available funds would scarcely suffice for the beginning of Brigadier Brayne's programme. He had no desire to be a wet blanket. As he had said it would be a serious matter if there were failures so to implement our promises to the Indian soldier as to enable him to live a better life and to give that leadership to the people of India which had been so eloquently advocated that afternoon.

Sir T. GAVIN JONES said that Brigadier Brayne was an idealist, and they did right to thank God for the idealists. He very much agreed with him in his warning that if a lot of soldiers were allowed to go back to their village life after they had lived a better life in the Army there would be trouble. As an industrialist in India he felt that industry would not develop there unless the standard of living of the peasant were raised for, after all, the peasants were their industrial markets. Brigadier Brayne had urged the establishment of a huge centre for the manufacture of artificial manures. One could not introduce chemical manures without humus. India was a poor country because her soil had not been properly looked after and if nitrogen were spread indiscriminately over the land the soil would be exhausted and a great deal of harm would be done. These large ideas about the manufacture of artificial manures had to be very carefully considered.

Brigadier Brayne had spoken from the point of view of the Punjab which was the most prosperous Province in India with a well set up well nourished lot of men. The Punjab was only a part of India. The bulk of India was over populated, the soil was not producing what it ought to produce and this he put down to the question of land tenure, a very prickly subject. They might be all right in the Punjab where they had peasant proprietors dealing directly with the Government. In the United Provinces they had a lot of landlords, not all of whom were everything that might be wished. In Bengal they had sometimes twenty tenants in between the cultivator and the superior landlord. How could agriculture be expected to flourish in such circumstances? The Royal Commission on Agriculture went to India and was frightened of the question of land tenure but it did say something about the law of succession whereby when a landholder died, if he had four sons his estate might be so cut up that there might be four landlords cultivating sixteen fields. The fragmentation of land was a great handicap to agriculture.

On the Post War Reconstruction Committee on which he had served before he left India he had suggested that the way to look on India on a great scale was to have a co-ordinating board of the Government of India to help in agriculture. At the moment the Central Government was not responsible for agriculture at all, and would say that this was a Provincial matter. All these efforts were dissipated unless there was co-ordination. Therefore he would urge that a co-ordinating board be set up in Delhi whose task it would be to co-ordinate not only agriculture but forestry and everything else connected with the land. Not only that, it was only the Central Government that could afford the money. In his Province (U.P.) 40 per cent of the land revenue went to the Government, and that expenditure was used up almost entirely in administration. The expenditure on agriculture was very small. It was money that was wanted.

He much appreciated Brigadier Brayne's paper, but he desired to have agriculture treated on a wider basis so that the whole of India could profit by it.

Brigadier BRAYNE, in reply to the questions asked by Sir Dashwood Strettell said that the welfare centres already established in unit married lines were being expanded to something in the nature of Women's Institutes where women were trained in home-making and the domestic arts and crafts, but shortage of money and of trained staff made progress slow. Hospitals and education for the families of Indian troops in cantonments was he believed still in the future. A new movement had been started, with a success varying according to the number of literate women available. This was the appointment of female social workers called Sevadarinis, to help the soldier's wife and family in the villages. These were village women themselves he thought about one thousand had been appointed in the Punjab and a similar number in the south but they must be literate women because one of their jobs would be to read letters to soldiers' wives and write letters for them.

Proposals were being made for something to be done for the education of soldiers' daughters after the war. After the last war the Government forgot that the soldiers had daughters as well as sons! Every war memorial after this war must be something for the women—schools, domestic training centres, scholarships, doctors, maternity arrangements, etc.

It was also asked what had been done for the I.C.O.s. This was a big problem and was being studied by Government. Some of them would go into training schools for Government service, and all the Government service they were capable of would be given them but he did not know what more had been decided. As for the Gurkhas one suggestion was to spend their share of the Army Welfare Fund on a sanatorium because Gurkha troops were more susceptible to tuberculosis than other Indian troops. It had also been suggested that there should be added to the sanatorium the provision of hostels and a training centre for Gurkha women.

Mysore, Bhopal, Baroda and other progressive States were making post war plans, but he did not know the details, he had been away from India too long.

One of the things that had possibly held up the savings scheme for sepoys was the insistence that savings bank money should be immune from seizure by the money lender or shopkeeper through the law courts. That would be the beginning of social security in India.

Sir Malcolm Darling was a little doubtful of progress being made on a wide scale. The trouble was that the Government had never yet put its whole heart into this business. There had never been proper publicity, the help of the women had never been obtained and education had not been enlisted in the campaign.

He had been accused of idealism, but it was not idealism—it was just common sense trying to secure for these people a human existence.

As for going slow, he had found that unless one planned to go fast one did not go at all. If one planned to go slowly one just stood still. As for the cost of his programme he was not proposing to give away anything free to anybody, only to raise the economic standard of the people so that they could pay for things themselves. He wanted no doles or gifts. He wanted the people to work and to have instilled into them the desire for better things. The money would be there if they could get the drive, and have people and Government working together to raise standards. It had been calculated by a scientific agriculturist that if the people would do the simple things they were told the produce of India could be multiplied by three. By adding the increased efficiency due to the control of disease, the general rise in health following the ventilation of the houses and the cleaning up of the villages, and by adding the capital resources saved for productive expenditure by the elimination of litigation, extravagant social ceremonies and gold and silver ornaments, he would multiply India's productivity by four.

He was not frightened by the pledges of the British Government. He hoped that the leadership and training provided by the ex-service men would enable India to take the great opportunity offered to her.

Sir HARRY HAIG, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the author, recalled that in Brigadier Brayne's less martial days he had played a great part in rural development, and the rural development movement in the United Provinces with which he himself had, something to do, had been very largely founded on Brayne's ideas. It was true that little progress could be made owing to lack of resources. He could only scrape together a pitiful provision of a few lakhs, but he hoped that the movement, limited in scope as it was still going on, and in future he was sure that the views which Brigadier Brayne had put before them would prevail. They required a certain amount of money and a great deal of effort and interest. If the interest of the demobilized Indian soldier could be enlisted he was sure that a very big thing would be done for India and a very great danger averted.

In the name of those present he thanked Brigadier Brayne for his stimulating paper and Lord Hailey for presiding with his customary wisdom and distinction.

## THE BRITISH SOLDIER IN INDIA TODAY

THE paper read to the Association on December 13, 1944, by Lieut.-Colonel G. R. Stevens on this subject was given in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* for January, 1945. The Right Hon. L. Hore Belisha, M.P. presided and in opening the meeting said that it was always pleasanter to preside over lectures than to deliver them, and it was a great honour as well as a pleasure to him to preside over the present lecture. His mind went back to a subject which he could not forget. Anyone who entered the War Office in time of peace with the idea of reforming the British Army very quickly realized that the key to the problem was not in Aldershot or London or York, or Plymouth or in any other military centre in this country but in India. No improvement could take place in the condition of the United Kingdom soldier in peacetime, no change could be brought about in establishment, no revision of equipment could occur without reference to Delhi. Owing to the system instituted by Mr. Cardwell, British and Indian units were interchangeable. There were two battalions of each ordinary English, Scots or Welsh line regiments one in this country and one in India. Consequently it was somewhat optimistic to suggest to the Secretary of State that he could revolutionize the conditions of the British soldier without regard to the views prevailing in India.

That was the first fact which would be quickly established. Anyone going into the War Office with enthusiasm and hope would soon be forced to realize that the pace of any transformation which he might desire to bring about would be regulated by policies formulated and finances available thousands of miles away. For that reason he had suggested that the Committee over which Lord Chatfield presided should go to India. It had made recommendations which were about to be put into operation when the war occurred. The military interdependence of Britain and India had become even more marked in the course of the present struggle.

General Auchinleck's command was the greatest command in the world—a fact which was often forgotten. He commanded the British Army in India, which with the forces in Burma according to the published figure totalled 350,000 men. He commanded the Indian Army—now two millions strong—and also the Royal Indian Navy, the Royal Air Force in India and the Indian Air Force. He was responsible for the training of all those forces in India and that was a colossal responsibility which should be present to our minds. It was because of the extent of that responsibility and the appropriateness of attention being called to it that Mr. Amery had encouraged him to take the chair on the present occasion.

While Colonel Stevens was primarily concerned with the ordinary United Kingdom soldier in India there was also a great Indian Army of which a correspondent of Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State, had written. "I wonder how many people at home realize that this enormous force which we have raised from India has been built up by the pre-war regular care of Indian Army officers, which was 2,500 strong and is now expanded to 40,000. 28,000 of these are officers from the United Kingdom. I feel that the nation owes a great deal to the small band of professional soldiers who have expanded this force to two million. They do not advertise themselves but their achievement is inestimable." General Auchinleck's command had supplied all the requirements of Admiral Mountbatten's forces in Burma.

The paper which they were to hear was mainly concerned with the British Army. The soldiers in India were not having too easy a time, and their circumstances had recently been investigated by Lord Munster. As it was always unwise to anticipate the unknown, he would make no comments upon Lord Munster's Report because he had not yet seen it, but that Report was awaited with great interest and anxiety.

They were fortunate in having Lieut.-Colonel Stevens to speak to them because he had seen more of the world and of the British Empire than most people and seen it at close quarters. He had been in the Canadian Government service as Trade Commissioner to South Africa, Australia and other lands. When the war came he

served in the Middle East, where he was made Public Relations Officer. These facts would show that they had the exceptional advantage of having a lecturer who not only knew what he was talking about, but who could put his subject-matter into proper perspective. Colonel Stevens had been to Burma with the Chindits, and had seen what he was talking about and loved what he had seen.

After the reading of the paper

Colonel ROBERT ARMSTRONG said he thought the lecture had been most interesting and stimulating. The point of view put forward was novel but none the less worthy of consideration. There was one comment by the lecturer where his own experience had been rather different. That was the suggestion that the education of the Army of today, recruited from the civil population, was of a higher standard than that of the pre-war regular Army. Colonel Armstrong had been privileged to command a unit of British pre-war regular soldiers and also a formation of soldiers of the Army of today, and, as he was responsible for their training, it was necessary for him to ascertain with a certain degree of precision, their standards of education on a statistical basis. In the war-time Army he had found that there were always a certain percentage of men who could neither read nor write and, indeed, their letters from their wives had to be read aloud to them and the answers dictated. In his pre-war regular Army unit there was not a single man who could not read or write and many of the senior NCOs could solve trigonometrical problems involving the use of four figure logarithms. The reason for this was presumably that in civilian life the compulsory school leaving age was fourteen and in the regular Army thirty-four and upwards.

With regard to social contacts with Indians he endorsed what the lecturer had said regarding their great desirability. If he might be forgiven for being personal, he recollected many very pleasant personal contacts with his friends in India.

On one occasion he stayed in the house of an Indian Raja where the guests which included the Raja's Hindu, Muhammadan and Christian Indian Ministers with British officers and their families played amusing if somewhat childish Christmas games. It should be noted, however, that all the members of the party spoke English. Another very happy recollection was a recruiting tour in the Punjab where he stayed in the houses of yeoman farmer soldiers of his Battery. He well remembered sitting round the fire out under the stars and talking long into the night. But it should be noted that he did not meet any of the ladies of the house. They were there as was shown by the clean and tidy houses and the well-kept children but they remained completely secluded. And in dealing with the question of social relations in India it should be remembered that we were dealing with the India of 1944 and not the India of the future. Even with the spread of education it should be realized that a very large percentage of Indian women were still secluded and the speaker could not see even educated women walking out with British soldiers. Probably their fathers and mothers would object or in some parts of India, if they were over the age of twelve their husbands might demur!

There was, however, one point which he would like to stress and in the presence of the Chairman, who, as Secretary of State for War had done so much for the welfare of the British soldier he would offer no apology for making it. If the British soldier were to be an ambassador, it must be ensured that he was a happy and contented ambassador. We must realize that the welfare of the large number of young men we had sent overseas—the pick of our population—was a matter of very great importance indeed. For example, the British soldiers needed British women to run their canteens and give that feminine touch which meant so much to men away from their homes. All the young women the speaker met were keen to go into UNRRA or to serve in Europe with the Red Cross, but he did feel that there was a place for many of them in the East.

There was also the question of pay. Let the British soldier be as well paid as the Australian or American soldier fighting alongside him. It would be said, of course that this was a matter for the Treasury but just as a country was said to get the Government it deserved so a Government got the Treasury it meant to have.

In other words, if everyone was determined that the British soldier should be well paid the money would be forthcoming

There was also the question of beer, which however diluted its quality, meant a great deal to the British soldier. There were of course, difficulties over brewing in India and the provision of bottles. Still before the war there were available in India excellent imported brands of tinned or canned beer. Would it not be possible to instal canning plants and produce the beer and ship it? Again the shipping difficulty, but if we were really in earnest the shipping would be forthcoming.

Another suggestion when the war with Germany was over a certain number of aircraft should be made available to bring the soldiers home on leave. The less the time spent in travelling the greater the number of soldiers who could be sent home on leave without detriment to the fighting efficiency of the force as a whole.

These proposals might be considered visionary but the speaker stressed that where the health and happiness of the British soldier was at stake we should take the risk of being considered visionary and be determined to have a really happy Army in India which should be given the best of everything.

Mrs MILFORD supporting Colonel Armstrong said she had been in Calcutta during three years of the war and had seen a good deal of what the British soldiers had had to put up with, and how patient they were. From personal experience she wished to give her wholehearted support to every word the lecturer had said.

During the early months of the war, when the forces went out to Bengal she had been in a position to know the Bengali reaction she knew they were dreading it because they anticipated rough soldiery. That was their attitude simply because they had had no contact with soldiery. After the Army had arrived the extraordinary transformation in public opinion was phenomenal, it could be called the conquest of Bengal. The behaviour and thoughtfulness of the men had charmed the people of Bengal.

She herself had been one of the lecturers to whom Colonel Stevens had referred. She had found a very great interest and intelligence among those to whom she spoke and she had begun to feel that the men expressed themselves so well that they might like to meet some Indians. She had therefore started a club which was such a genuine success that she had been astonished. Before long it had become an international club the discussions had been vital and profitable because the problems of today were of tremendous interest to both sides. In many ways those discussions had challenged the rather loquacious Bengalis to come down to hard facts. Indian ladies showed themselves lively and kindly hostesses. The success of that club led those responsible to form similar clubs all over India. She wished to pay tribute to the official attitude with regard to these. Everyone had given their support and Mrs Casey wife of the Governor of Bengal had spoken on the air. In one of her broadcasts Mrs Casey had said that in spite of the misery of war it did give the individual a greater opportunity to enlarge his knowledge of others. It was on human relationships in the end that the peace and progress of the world depended.

The BISHOP OF RANGOON said he had found the lecturer's approach to his subject extremely interesting and he questioned whether there was any single problem which could not be solved through human relationships when human relationships were right everything was right.

He would like to relate a story which illustrated that. One day in Calcutta he had found himself at a christening party in an Indian house. At that party there were various English and Indian people. He had soon realized that the people at that party were all very stiff, and he had wondered how to surmount that, when an unusual thought had occurred to him. He had decided to write a poem which was to be addressed to the baby! After the father of the baby had expressed his pleasure—somewhat formally—at the presence of his English guests he himself had recited his own poem. That had had the effect of making the mother of the baby begin to talk, and gradually others followed suit and in a short time the atmosphere became free and friendly. The interesting point was that the last speaker of all



was a British soldier, and he had said that he had come to the party with no great love of India, but that the last hour had been the happiest he had spent in that country.

Lieut.-Colonel H Hingston wished to refer to two points upon which he disagreed with the lecturer. The first was that the lecturer had said that N.A.A.F.I. was not allowed to operate in India. In actual fact, N.A.A.F.I. had decided that it could not work in India.

The second point was one upon which he felt very strongly. The lecturer stated in his paper that during the last thirty years the British had lost the confidence and affection of the Indians to an appalling degree. He did not agree with that. That was a view which people obtained when they went to India for a short time, the reason for that was that they did not meet the vast bulk of the Indian population. They only met the educated Indians, and they only represented one-tenth of 1 per cent. Had the lecturer gone out into the villages of the Punjab he would have found a very different atmosphere, and he would have been received with affection because he was British. He might have found that confidence in the British had been shaken but the reason for that was not the one implied in the paper. The real reason was that the British were going from India, and the ordinary Indian villagers could not understand that.

In 1942-43 the Indian Army was in low water morale was not what it had been. The Indian Army had suffered in Malaya, in Hongkong in Burma, and also in the Middle East during the January to March 1943, campaigns and also there was the fact that the Indians did not understand the war against Japan. All that however did not destroy the morale of the Indian Army, but what had really shaken the Indian sepoy was Sir Stafford Cripps' visit. The sepoys said 'We have got to fight this war and then give everything over to people who have always been considered below us.' That was how the Indian Army saw it and morale went down. Since then, however morale had gone up, and it was now better than ever before—a fact which was due to one man, General Auchinleck. General Auchinleck was a really great man in India, he was in the same sort of position as Lord Roberts and it was because of his personality energy and drive and his complete knowledge of how the Indian thought that the morale of the Indian Army and the civilian population of India had risen to its present standard.

Captain BELLENGER, M.P. said that he wished to introduce a little explosive material into the discussion by reminding the meeting that there were 300,000 or 400,000 British troops in India. What was the situation among the British troops in India? He had reason to believe that they were feeling very sore at the lack of proper amenities. He would like some of those present to become really indignant, not only about the Indian population, but about their own population in India who were not at present getting a fair deal. This matter should be brought prominently—almost violently—before the British public. He urged everyone who wanted contented ambassadors to look into the conditions of those ambassadors, because they were undoubtedly disquieting.

Mr. A. H. BYRNE enquired whether the responsibility for the troops in the South-East Asian Command did not lie with the War Office.

Lieut.-Colonel STEVENS, in reply to the observations of Colonel Armstrong, said that it seemed to him that the attitude of the professional soldier altered radically when he gained in rank. Up to the time the British soldier commanded a unit in India his attitude towards relationships in general was very much more liberal than it was when he achieved a position of authority.

With reference to what Colonel Hingston had said about Indian villages, he was afraid that Colonel Hingston was speaking very largely of a certain section of the Indian Army. It might surprise him to know that at least one-quarter, rising to one-third, of the recruits of the Indian Army came from South India, with a dispersion of recruitment all over India. There was probably a difference in the attitude of the villagers of Rajputana, which had supplied men to the Indian Army for generations, and that of villagers in other parts of India. He would emphasize that

he believed the relationships between Britons and Indians to rest, not with the villagers, but with one-tenth of 1 per cent. of the population who constituted the technical classes of India. If British relationship with India was to be better in the future it would have to come about through contact with that one-tenth.

With reference to Captain Bellenger's remarks Colonel Stevens admitted that he had had to shift the emphasis of his subject somewhat in view of Lord Munster's visit to India and his impending Report. The British soldier's problems in India were well understood and efforts were being made to solve them.

In reply to Mr Byrt's question the responsibility for the troops in the South East Asian Command rested with His Majesty's Government and not with the Government of India.

SIR LANCELOT GRAHAM in moving a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer and to the Chairman said that he did not feel that his advancing years had diminished his capacity for maintaining sympathetic contact with Indians of every caste. He had achieved contact, not only with villagers, but he had had many personal contacts with representatives of the intelligentsia and with politicians, and he could assure the meeting that many of them were his warmest friends.

The lecturer had said nothing in his paper about boredom. He had found that boredom was the crux of the problem in India. The British soldier was bored and did not meet the right people and he was also hard up for money. He complained of being cut off. It was difficult for the soldiers to make contacts and it took two people to establish a friendship. Although he had agreed with many of the lecturer's points he disagreed with him in some respects.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.

Captain S. T. BINSTAD, who had to leave before the close of the meeting, writes:

I agree with the constructive suggestions in the lecture, particularly that we should take full advantage of the presence in India of the increased number of British soldiers, a fair percentage of whom are intellectually equipped to lead their comrades in a campaign to strengthen understanding and comradeship between the Indians and themselves. But Colonel Stevens has failed to give any credit to the work of British Tommies and in fact to the British in general in the past. No one who has lived in India for any length of time (and I speak with over twenty years' experience) can deny the fact that examples of British-Indian comradeship can be found in pockets all over India. For example I would ask where you would find a more cheerful and satisfied community than in the Indian villages in and around British cantonments—the gharwalla, the charwalla, the butcher, the baker, the tailor, the shopkeeper, the bearer and the like. The majority of them have also absorbed the British sense of humour and I contend all this has been brought about by their continual contact with the British service men. Moreover the majority of our great soldiers, such as Wavell, Auchinleck, Jacob and many others, could claim as personal friends thousands of Indians in all walks of life, both military and civil, and many of our civilian officials could do likewise.

Then what about the good work done in certain Indian States? Take Hyderabad and Mysore. The British soldiers who have passed through the Bangalore Cantonment will I feel sure have reason to remember the encouragement and welcome extended to them by H.H. the Maharaja of Mysore and by His Highness's Government. They have promoted all kinds of schemes whereby the British service man can use his spare time to advantage. Entertainment of varying types from the highly classical to that of the music hall has been given in an effort which would be highly creditable even to the E.N.S.A. organization. Recent letters in the British Press from both private soldiers and officers recount experiences of and express gratitude for the hospitality and co-operation tendered them at Mysore and elsewhere by Indians. There was similar hospitality in the last war, and I only relate this to show that we are not starting altogether from zero.

## BALUCHISTAN AND THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER IN WAR-TIME

BY SIR AUBREY METCALFE, K C I E , C S I , M V O

SOME years ago when on leave from India I met a Member of Parliament who asked me how things were going in India. I replied that all was fairly quiet and peaceful except in Waziristan, where there was some trouble with the tribes. He asked me

Where and what is Waziristan? which rather surprised me, since I had expected that a member of the House of Commons would at least have heard of the only area in the Empire where active operations of a sort were almost continuously in progress. I fully realize that at the present time everybody's attention is concentrated upon the far more important events which are taking place in Europe and the Pacific, and that Waziristan Baluchistan, and as someone expressed it all the other Stans attract very little public interest.

It would therefore be no matter for surprise if some of my audience say to themselves, Where and what is Baluchistan? In case there be some who have forgotten the answer, I venture to begin with a very brief description of the geographical situation of Baluchistan and of its general administrative and political system. It is a Province of India covering an area of 135,000 square miles and with a population of under 900,000 of all sorts. It lies on the western frontier of India south of the North West Frontier Province and is bounded on the west by Afghanistan and Persia, on the south by the Indian Ocean and on the east by the Provinces of Sind and the Punjab. In climate it is akin rather to Persia and Central Asia than to India, except for some areas adjoining Sind. Politically and constitutionally it presents a very curious conglomeration of forms. More than half of its whole area is included in Kalat State and several of the most important areas in Baluchistan proper which is directly under British administration are leased in perpetuity from the Khan of Kalat, Quetta, the capital, being one and the Nasirabad sub-division which is the principal food producing area of the Province another. Of the rest very small areas only rank as British India and then only by an accident of history, and by far the greater portion is either tribal or agency territory, which with one or two minor exceptions is loosely administered under a common tribal system.

It is only in cantonments in large towns, of which there are very few and on the railways that regular police function and the laws of British India are fully enforced. Elsewhere the Administration employs the tribal leaders, to whom allowances are paid and tribal levies paid and in some cases armed by Government for the maintenance of law and order. The only armed trained and permanently embodied forces at the disposal of the local Administration are the Zhob Militia which functions mainly in the Zhob Agency the Chagai Levy Corps on the Afghan and Persian frontier and the Mekran Levy Corps, which serves wholly in the southern area of the Kalat State but is in no way under the control of the Khan.

### PROBLEMS OF WAR TIME

So much for Baluchistan in normal times and I will now turn to the special problems which arose during the first four years of war and explain how they were dealt with. The main problems can be grouped under four heads (a) internal law and order, (b) tribal unrest, (c) the danger of external aggression (d) maintenance of adequate supplies of food and other essential commodities.

The first problem of internal law and order was at no time serious partly on account of the very small population of the Province in comparison to its area and partly because the vast majority of the inhabitants are not interested in the political and communal disputes which disturb the peace of other parts of India. Ordinary crime showed at first a tendency to increase, mainly for economic reasons, but as the demand for labour increased to cope with military constructional needs and

more regular police were enlisted this tendency slackened. On the political side some temporary excitement was engendered by a visit early in 1940 paid to the Province by Abdul Ghaffar Khan who is sometimes known as the North West Frontier Gandhi. He attempted to found a Baluchistan branch of his pro-Congress organization of Red Shirts, but nowhere in the Province did he achieve any substantial success and his visit terminated in a physical attack made upon him and his followers in the Nasirabad sub-division where the local tribal leaders objected to the propaganda which Abdul Ghaffar Khan was carrying on against them. In Quetta there was a small pro-Congress group led curiously enough, by a radically minded Muslim of the country-gentleman class but their influence was very small and their chief asset was a newspaper which had to be suppressed for a short time owing to its anti British and anti war sentiments. When India was gravely disturbed after the arrest of Mr Gandhi and the Congress Working Committee in 1942 Baluchistan remained completely quiet though as a measure of precaution some half-dozen of the leading members of the pro-Congress organization in Quetta were either arrested and detained in jail or sent back to their homes in the Punjab.

#### TRIBAL CONTROL

The second problem of tribal unrest also presented few real difficulties. Shortly after the outbreak of war the Government of India suggested that loyal citizens of India should be organized into a force of civic guards whose duties should be analogous to those performed by Civil Defence personnel and Home Guards in England. The idea was received with some public enthusiasm in Quetta but even there it failed in spite of official encouragement to lead to any practical results. The proposal was inappropriate to rural areas where the Administration already relied mainly on tribal responsibility for the maintenance of law and order. It was therefore agreed that for the duration of the war additional funds should be placed at the disposal of the local Administration for the entertainment of additional levies who would protect communications and other vital points. The strength of the Zhob Militia and of the other two Levy Corps was also substantially increased and their equipment and training improved.

These measures proved almost entirely effective and such tribal troubles as occurred were due not to war conditions but rather to an inherent and unavoidable defect in the system. As I have already explained the system entails the payment of allowances and rewards for tribal service which whatever its merits breeds discontent among those who do not get all that they regard as their deserts. There were two incidents during my four years in Baluchistan which illustrate this point. The first was the assassination of the Political Agent Zhob by a tribesman with an old grievance about his pay and position as a tribal levy. This tragedy led directly to a number of outrages committed in the Zhob Agency by the relatives of the assassin who was himself arrested on the spot by a fellow tribesman and later hanged after being tried and sentenced under the Indian Penal Code. The second incident was an abortive rising by a small tribe in the Loralai Agency which was immediately quelled by the Zhob Militia before it had time to develop. This demonstration was due to the dissatisfaction of the tribal leader concerned with his allowance and the hope that he might by disaffection induce the Government to be more generous. It must not however be forgotten that the satisfactory behaviour of the tribesmen and the absence of trouble is to some extent due to the fact that His Majesty's Government has not been at war with any Muslim Power and that cordial relations have been maintained with Muslim neighbouring countries particularly with Afghanistan.

#### MILITARY CONTRACTS

Before leaving the problem of tribal management I would refer to one disquieting development directly due to the war whose effects are likely to assume greater importance in the future. It was considered necessary in 1940 to 1943 to insure against the danger of hostile invasion through Persia by embarking on a large programme of military construction including airfields, roads and buildings. Both

contractors and labour were scarce and the urgency of the works precluded the exercise of parsimony. The result was that Baluchistan became a veritable "Tom Tiddler's ground" and many of the tribal leaders not unnaturally wished to take part in the scramble, especially if the works were in the areas for which they were tribally responsible. Those who secured contracts and were able to hire a competent and honest Hindu to manage the business for them made money but neglected their tribal duties. Others who were less fortunate made so little profit that they called it a loss and became discontented as well as useless as tribal leaders. An even more significant feature was the emergence of a new class of *nouveau riche* among the tribesmen—men with no tribal influence or standing but with sufficient business acumen to make large fortunes out of their profits on Government contracts. Their wealth has become a formidable challenge to the influence and prestige of the less affluent tribal Sardars and it has yet to be seen how they will use this wealth. But it is certain that the comparatively small amounts which the local Administration pay in tribal allowances are ceasing to be so attractive as they have been in the past.

The third problem which I undertook to deal with was that of possible enemy aggression against India directed through Baluchistan. For a time it seemed possible that the threat might become imminent if German armies succeeded in forcing their way through the Caucasus and Persia. The problem was one for the military authorities to solve but the co-operation of the civil authorities was required in such matters as Civil Air Raid Precautions, the security of lines of communication and arrangements for adequate supplies for the civil population, or in the alternative the evacuation to India of all surplus inhabitants. To deal with these problems a joint Military and Civil Committee was set up which evolved a comprehensive scheme for dealing with foreseeable contingencies in an emergency. Practical measures for dealing with enemy air raids in all civil areas were worked out and except for two special officers in charge the whole organization was manned by Indian non-officials who gave their services almost entirely on a voluntary basis. Intensive practice was carried out and enthusiasm remained at a high pitch in spite of the absence of any enemy air action, until the threat of invasion evaporated and most of the equipment was removed to meet a more imminent danger on the other side of India. The work which had been done was, however, by no means wasted, as you will see when I deal with the next problem.

#### SUPPLY PROBLEM

Baluchistan is emphatically a deficit area in the matter of food and many other necessary commodities. The sub-division of Nasirabad is the only area which grows substantially more food than is required by its own inhabitants. Quetta City in normal times received every day by rail about 400 tons of grain and other goods from the Punjab and Sind. After the outbreak of war the population of Quetta and the environments increased greatly owing to the influx of labourers and artisans from the Punjab and elsewhere with the result that prices rose sharply and there was some public distress. A supply crisis occurred in 1942 when heavy floods in the Indus River breached all the railways in Sind and Quetta was entirely isolated by rail for several months. Emergency routes by boat, lorry and bullock-cart were promptly organized and worked well but the shortage of supplies necessitated the introduction of rationing in Quetta and other large towns and of organized distribution in some rural areas. Thus the paper schemes which had been prepared to meet quite a different emergency proved of great value. There was no serious shortage of necessary commodities; prices remained reasonably low and there were no large fortunes made on the Black Market since all the management remained under the strict control of Government officials.

#### COAL

One interesting development was in regard to fuel supplies, which in the cold of a Quetta winter is a matter of great importance. There has for many years been a primitive system of coal mining in the vicinity of Quetta, in the Bolan Pass and in the Harnai Valley. It consisted of extraction on or near the surface with

very poor results and very uneconomical working. The Government of India deputed experts to examine the possibilities of development, and before I left Baluchistan a year ago improved methods introduced under the supervision of a British mining engineer had already begun to win sufficient local coal to supply the normal civil requirements of Quetta. Large capital expenditure was, however, needed on plant and communications before the local industry could be considered a sound commercial proposition. Moreover grave political difficulties regarding the ownership of the mines and the royalty rights still remained unsolved, since many of the most productive areas are situated in Kalat State. With these difficulties out of the way and if labour can be found to work regularly in this climate of extremes of heat and cold there is no reason why Baluchistan coal should not supply all provincial needs in competition with the coal imported from Bengal at inordinate cost in transport.

#### FUTURE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

I have said nothing about the political future of Baluchistan in relation to India. As you know the Province stands at present wholly outside the scheme of constitutional reform with which most of British India has been endowed. It still enjoys—and I use that word in its normal sense—a legal system based on the tribal custom which existed before our Administration. The tribal representatives are still able to express their opinions and wishes through what is known as the Shahi Jirga, and bureaucratic interference with the ordinary man's way of life is reduced to the minimum. This legal and administrative system which was founded by Sir Robert Sandeman more than half a century ago has of recent years been the target of severe criticism mainly from two quarters: one external and the other internal. It has been called primitive with much justice and barbarous with very little justification and it will be worth while to examine for a few moments the two quarters from which the criticism has come. To take first the external quarter: Baluchistan has ever since the era of constitutional reform opened in India been looked at with covetous eyes by the Indian politician, particularly the Muslim leaders because they see that the Province if it can be attracted into the Indian political arena out of the reserved circle of the Governor-General's powers where it has its present constitutional being will become, owing to its predominantly Muslim population, an additional unit of Muslim voting strength at the centre of any independent India which may emerge from the process of constitution making. Similarly since Mr Jinnah evolved the scheme of Pakistan it was obvious that Baluchistan must become part of that new and independent State and in 1943 Mr Jinnah visited Quetta to whip up local enthusiasm for the Muslim League and for a reformed system of administration as a preliminary step to inclusion in Pakistan. Some enthusiasm was aroused for Pakistan, which was based rather on antagonism to Congress than on hostility to the existing methods of administration. Mr Jinnah's own personal appeal as an effective champion of Muslim rights against Hindu cunning and oppression was also an important factor. The internal criticism of the tribal custom and of the old fashioned system of administration comes almost entirely from a small but vocal political party known as the Anjuman-i-Watan. Their leader and moving spirit belongs to a rural and tribal family but his following is largely composed of Hindus and Punjabi or Sindhi immigrants who reside more or less permanently at Quetta which is the centre of political activity in the Province. This association has strong pro-Congress leanings which detracts from its popularity with most classes and the leader owns a newspaper published at Quetta which had for a period to be suppressed owing to its seditious tone.

I have stated these facts in order to support the view, which I hold, that there is no general local enthusiasm of a deep-rooted nature for any drastic change in the existing system of administration in Baluchistan. I do not question the fact that there is some local enthusiasm for the Muslim League and Pakistan though even this is weakened by internal antagonisms and is not based on any informed appreciation of the practical implications of the scheme. Thus it is doubtful if the tribal supporters of Pakistan realize that their present law of tribal custom

may have to give way to another system, or that they will certainly lose the considerable allowances which they at present enjoy from the pockets of the Indian taxpayer. When these implications become clearer it seems probable that the demand for change may become much less insistent and that little will be left beyond the vague aspiration for greater autonomy and for representative institutions of a similar type to those which have been accorded to other Indian Provinces, even if they are not utilized at present. The practical difficulties of such a development in Baluchistan are very great, but the time at my disposal does not permit me to explain them.

#### THE PEACEFUL N.W.F.

Although this paper purported to include something about the North West Frontier in war time you will have noticed that I have made hardly any allusions to that important area and its problems. For that I must apologize but were I to attempt to cover that as well at Baluchistan I should have to embark on a lengthy voyage threatened at innumerable points with controversial rocks and even perhaps submarine attacks from some of my audience. Moreover my own intimate and personal acquaintance with the affairs of the N.W.F. dates from before 1939 when I ceased to be Foreign Secretary and I feel that it would be presumptuous to say more than that the N.W.F. including the tribal areas has been remarkably peaceful and well-behaved during the five years of war. This is the more remarkable when we remember the strenuous efforts made by hostile agents in Afghanistan well supplied with money and weapons to create trouble on the Frontier through the Faqir of Ipi and his followers. For the failure of those efforts we have to thank on the one hand the determination of the Afghan Government to prevent their neutrality from being compromised and on the other hand the patient and wise handling of many difficult situations by the Governor, Sir George Cunningham, who has been head of the Administration for the last seven years.

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#### DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Caxton Street S.W. 1 on Thursday, January 25, 1945 with Sir CLAUDE GIDNEY K.C.I.E., C.S.I. in the chair to hear the foregoing address on *Baluchistan and the North West Frontier in War-time*.

The CHAIRMAN in introducing Sir Aubrey Metcalfe said that most of his service had been spent in the country about which he was to speak and by reason of the happy alternation between executive and administrative posts which obtained on the North West Frontier he had held most of the responsible appointments in that Province, until after a long tenure as Foreign Secretary he finally became A.G.G. in Baluchistan. He was therefore well qualified to talk on the subject he had chosen that afternoon and as he had only recently given up his appointment, he spoke not only from first hand knowledge but from recent experience.

After the reading of the paper

The CHAIRMAN said that a few years ago it would have seemed impossible that we should need to be reminded that we still possessed a North West Frontier in India, and that a reminder was necessary served to point the contrast between the tale of events during this war and that of the last. Had history repeated itself we might have found ourselves battling in India on two fronts and this would have imposed an intolerable strain upon the resources of our empire, which were strained

to the uttermost in 1942 and ill prepared to meet the challenge of another first-class power

As Sir Aubrey had pointed out there were several contributory causes to this very satisfactory state of affairs. Chief among them was the fact that we were not involved in hostilities with any Muslim power on the contrary relations with neighbouring Muslim countries had been friendly in particular Afghanistan. But the goodwill and co-operation of the tribesmen themselves must not be forgotten. Readers of Wendell Wilkie's book *One World* would remember that he claimed that the Americans had built up for themselves a reservoir of goodwill in many parts of the world. Perhaps events had proved that we had not done too badly ourselves in that respect, and perhaps there was some good in that very much debated and hotly argued policy—the forward policy.

The record of the two frontiers during the five years of war had been remarkable, and this was particularly the case in the North West Frontier Province because so recently as 1937 38 part of that frontier had been gravely disturbed by the activities of the Fakir of Ipi and it took quite a large number of troops to control these disturbances. It could be said therefore that the forward policy had stood the test and a tribute was due to the officers, from the Governor downwards who had made it a success.

Sir Aubrey had with a proper regard for relevancy confined himself rather strictly to his subject, but perhaps he (the Chairman) might be permitted to be a little less relevant. Those who had served in these two Provinces were very interested in their future and with the war drawing to a close it was natural to turn to possible post war developments. Much must depend upon the answer to the question as to whether India would remain united or whether as H.E. the Viceroy had phrased it, the political doctors would decide that a major surgical operation in the shape of Pakistan was necessary. There were many reasons why the unity which had been built up during the last 150 years should be preserved—we believed that the work done had been for the benefit of India and was worth preserving but there was another and more cogent reason arising out of the war which was that a unified India would have a very vital part to play in the post war future of the Far East and would thereby rise to her full stature as one of the most important units of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Indeed we needed India to play as strong a part as possible on this wide and difficult international stage because it was doubtful whether China after seven or eight years' exhausting struggle would be able to emerge at once into the post war scene as a strong, united and first-class power. But if India was to be effective for this purpose, her unity must be a genuine one and by that was meant a unity that had been agreed upon and accepted by the majority of Indians—not an artificial patched up and uneasy unity with a strong and discontented minority anxious to break it at the earliest opportunity. Too much of that kind of thing had been seen in Europe for anyone to wish to see it repeated in India. If such a unity was not to be attained there might possibly be advantages in Pakistan not only from the point of view of these two Provinces but also from the wider point of view of the peace and stability of the Middle East.

As for Baluchistan an A.G.G. in reply to a question as to what we did there said: 'Well principally we keep the peace and when one looked round on the scene today perhaps keeping the peace was no small achievement.'

Sir Aubrey had pointed out that progress should not be too rapid. There was danger in too much Indian or Indo-British political wine being poured into old frontier bottles. Much had been done in the settled districts of the North-West Frontier Province and the experiment had been successful—much more so than some had anticipated. Baluchistan and the tribal area of the North West Frontier were however a different case, what he had in mind was the fear that, if these areas were to be brought into the new constitutional scheme things might move too fast and a modern administration be set up quite unsuited to them with many of the concomitant and consequential evils of a modern administration. Two examples were the evil of debt and the lawyer-ridden judicial system. To a certain extent Baluchistan had been able to avoid one of those evils with regard to the other he did not know to what extent it had been able to do so but he was certain that during the hundred



years we had administered the North West Frontier the agricultural debt had increased tremendously, and this was not a credit to our administration.

Those who had read Herbert Edwards' *Year on the Punjab Frontier* would remember how the tribesmen in those days had certain rough-and-ready means of debt-control, but these methods could not be countenanced nowadays, and other means would have to be found. Other means had indeed been tried, but they were not drastic enough, nor had they been worked wholeheartedly enough, and he hoped something could yet be done in the short time left.

Anyhow if the administration was to be radically altered it was to be hoped that the tribesmen themselves would have some voice in deciding what form of administration was best suited to them. He remembered the late Sir Abdul Qayyum saying that the tribesmen should be persuaded to look more towards Delhi and less back wards over their shoulder. He was speaking more particularly of the settled districts of the North West Frontier Province and the grant of constitutional reforms and perhaps too the activities of the Frontier Gandhi—Abdul Ghaffar Khan—had helped in that direction. He doubted however whether the tribesmen of the North West Frontier Province tribal area were any more interested in the political and communal quarrels of India than were the tribesmen of Baluchistan or wished to be drawn into them. He could see, therefore, no little difficulty in fitting them into the constitutional scheme, and, if a Pakistan Government had to come it might be able to solve it by reason of its closer geographical proximity and therefore more knowledgeable and sympathetic understanding of tribal needs and aspirations. But with one foot in Calcutta and the other in the frontier Pakistan would be a sprawling form of government and care would have to be taken to see that too much weight was not put on one foot.

SIR NORMAN CATER said that Sir Aubrey had shown that in time of war from its geographical position Baluchistan was not unimportant and that it had its own problems. He himself served in Baluchistan during the last war and it was interesting to note that the problems were very much the same as they were in this one. Perhaps the last war was a time of greater anxiety because we had against us the great Muslim power of Turkey the attitude of Afghanistan was doubtful and there were some active and efficient enemy agents at work in Persia who succeeded in stirring up a good deal of trouble. There were one or two risings, but apart from this Baluchistan remained perfectly quiet.

He would not claim that the administration of Baluchistan was perfect but it had come through two wars with very little trouble and disturbance so that there could not be very much wrong with it. With regard to political agitation his experience was very much the same as Sir Aubrey's there was very little of it and what there was was engineered and fomented from outside. He was glad to hear the name Sandeman mentioned at the end of Sir Aubrey's remarks because one was apt to forget the great men of the past, and it was Sir Robert Sandeman who was the founder and author of a system of administration which had lasted for some seventy or eighty years and which had brought Baluchistan through two wars with a minimum of trouble and disturbance.

SIR WILLIAM BARTON said that the Afghan frontier had for a hundred years been a danger spot from the point of view of British military strategy. People in this country did not realize what they owed to administrators like Sir Aubrey Metcalfe and Sir George Cunningham for what they had done in maintaining peace on that turbulent borderland. The danger was all the greater during this war, because had the Germans caused trouble among the frontier tribes several Indian divisions would have been pinned down on the border which could have been used to much greater effect elsewhere—e.g. in the Mediterranean area. In order to cause unrest the Germans sent agents to Afghanistan years before the war—engineers, technicians, diplomatic agents. The engineers helped the Afghans to set up hydro-electric installations to start factories, and so on—work which the British should have done. To make the scheme a success it was necessary for the Germans to ensure the co-operation of the Afghan Government, and in order to induce that Government to co-operate they

offered them the glittering prize of the lost provinces of Afghanistan when the Germans had won the war—Sind, the NW Frontier Province, and Baluchistan

Their efforts failed, and for reasons which the lecturer and Chairman had given, the *Afghans* desired to maintain friendship with Britain. Their Prime Minister had stood loyally by the treaty, peace still reigned on the borderland. What about the future? Who would protect what was our one great imperial land frontier? Would an Indian Government, self-governing or independent be able to undertake the obligation? He thought it was very doubtful in the early days of its career. If India were divided was it possible that Pakistan and Mr Jinnah would be an efficient barrier between the militant Islam of the Afghan frontier and Hindu India? He doubted whether the Hindus would think so. It seemed then that the responsibility would fall again on British shoulders on such terms as might be concluded with whatever Government was set up in India independent or otherwise. There might be a treaty similar to the treaty with Egypt. He thought the *Afghans* would welcome some such solution. Three years ago when he was in Kabul he got the impression that the *Afghans* regarded with some concern the possibility of an independent or semi-independent Government in Delhi predominantly Hindu. They felt that such a Government would not be likely to give them much sympathy and moral or material support when they most needed it. The *Afghans* liked to feel that there was a strong military power behind them.

The problem of the Afghan borderland was economic. It would not be solved until Afghanistan was economically developed. The only means of ensuring such development would be an economic partnership between Afghanistan and Britain. The *Afghans* would welcome such a partnership. Britain had a civilizing mission of goodwill and peace on the Afghan frontier and he hoped there would be an opportunity in the future of carrying out that mission.

SIR LANCELOT GRAHAM said that he had been a neighbour of Baluchistan and had enjoyed the hospitality of Sir Aubrey Metcalfe and his predecessor. Sind must offer a very tempting opportunity to the raiding propensities of the Baluchis and it was a great tribute to the administration of Baluchistan that there was so little trouble in that direction.

He wished to ask why there was a Baluchi Regiment in which there were no Baluchis. In reply to questions he put at the headquarters of the regiment he was told that the Baluchi was a magnificent and brave fellow but he did not like leaving his country and he found it difficult to absorb discipline. He was anxious to promote the war effort of the Province of Sind and thought a battalion of Baluchis could be raised from amongst those living in Sind but was told that the problem was quite insoluble. He took it quite to heart and believed that the Baluchis would have liked to play a more prominent part in hostilities.

He would mention one or two small points, the first of which was the extraordinary complication of the political and constitutional arrangements in Baluchistan. What would happen under the new constitution if and when Baluchistan came in he did not know. He would not set up Sind as a model of good administration but it might be the fate of Baluchistan to be amalgamated with Sind.

Sir Aubrey had carefully restricted himself to the subject of his lecture but as the Chairman had set a precedent for going outside that subject he would say of Baluchistan whether in war or peace or in times of stress such as earthquakes some very remarkable things were done by one of the most remarkable men who ever went to Baluchistan—Sir Henry Holland. Apart from being a genius as an operator he had a most amazing capacity for making his victims positively enjoy the operation. Those who saw his work during the earthquake were amazed that a man so shattered could play such a magnificent part. He had also played a predominant part in the war effort on the civil side in Quetta and Baluchistan.

Sir Lancelot Graham concluded by saying that he wished to pay a warm tribute to the administrators of Baluchistan.

Col. Sir CUSACK WALTON asked if the buildings in Quetta had been reconstructed to withstand earthquake shocks.

SIR AUBREY METCALFE, in reply to the discussion said that practically all military buildings were constructed of blocks of concrete welded together in steel framework, and they stood up extremely well to earthquakes. The only trouble was that some of the plaster inside the houses came down. Another and more interesting form of anti-earthquake construction, which was adopted mainly in civil buildings was invented by Mr. Oddin Taylor and this system had been adopted in England and was known as the Quetta Bond. It had been used for air raid shelters in England with success and consisted of bricks bound together with steel lathes and concrete tension bands. There was a bad earthquake at Quetta in 1942 but no one was hurt, and in the earthquake-proof houses there was complete security.

The other points made in the discussion had made him realize how many gaps there were in what he had said and what a great number of other subjects he should have touched upon. The question of Pakistan and defence had been mentioned, but this problem was dismissed in a very airy fashion by all promoters of Pakistan because they said, they would be on such good terms with all their Muslim neighbours that defence would not be necessary.

Sir Lancelot Graham had answered his own question with regard to the Baluchi Regiment and as Governor of Sind had done something towards employing Baluchis by recruiting them to a special police force in Sind. Legal difficulties were as great as Sir Lancelot had indicated some form of extradition between Sind and Baluchistan had been rendered necessary by decisions of the Sind High Court, but that difficulty had been surmounted by legislation.

Sol. Sir CUSACK WALTON proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman and Lecturer. The lecture had brought back happy memories of a country which was quite unique in many ways. The vote of thanks was accorded by applause and the meeting terminated.

## IMPRESSIONS OF INDIA IN THE WAR YEARS

BY SIR EVELYN WRENCH, C M G

(Lately America Relations Officer to the Government of India)

THE object of my address to you this afternoon is to give some general impressions of India and its varied problems derived during two and a half years spent in that country. The Indian problem has, I know, been described as the greatest political problem of our time, and I realize that in accepting the invitation of the East India Association it might appear as if I considered myself able to speak with expert authority on the great political drama that is taking place in the Indian sub-continent. That is certainly not the case. A lifetime's sojourn in India would be little enough to qualify oneself to be so regarded. Ever since the Round Table Conferences when I met most of the Indian delegates a number of whom are personal friends, I have kept in touch with the changing Indian scene, and I took to India a deep interest in her peoples and her problems dating back many years.

My wife and I arrived in India in November 1941 just a month before Pearl Harbour. My first six months were spent in studying Indian problems from Cape Comorin to Khyber and meeting most of the leaders. We paid two visits to Mahatma Gandhi at his Ashram. I had talks with Mr. Jinnah in Bombay and Delhi and discussed India's problems and aspirations with Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Ambedkar, the leader of the Untouchables, Mr. Rajagopalachariar, Mr. Jayakar and very many others in British India and many of the Indian Princes. We were private individuals beholden to no one, and paying our own expenses.

#### LEARNING FROM EACH OTHER

It was only half a year after our arrival, when we were about to return to Great Britain via South Africa, that Lord Linlithgow the ex Viceroy invited me to become America Relations Officer an offer which made a great appeal to me. I was attached to the External Affairs Department and worked under Sir Olaf Caroe. The job was specially created to deal with the countless problems arising as a result of American participation in the war and the presence of large numbers of Americans in India. Apart from two short periods of leave we spent two years at Delhi including two hot summers in the Plains.

I endeavoured to approach Indian problems with a mind free of prejudice and I liked to think that I had been one of the first British journalists to advocate the granting to India of Dominion Status before the Round Table Conferences. I had once been in India before for a visit for a few weeks though as most of my time was spent in hospital when we steamed up the Hooghly to Calcutta in November 1941 it was as though I were receiving the great impact of India for the first time. It is an experience not vouchsafed to many. I imagine to become a small cog in the machinery of the Government of India in their sixtieth year. India is said to cast her spell over the lives of most of those who seek to serve her she certainly did so in my case and I often get a sense of nostalgia for Old Delhi and the Indian scene. All my life I have believed that India or the Indians and Great Britain can achieve much for the advancement of civilization as partners in the British Commonwealth. My stay in India only confirmed me in that belief.

We have much to learn from India for there is a real danger in the West of our becoming engulfed in an all-embracing materialism. The peoples of India have a faculty for emphasizing spiritual values which we would do well to bear in mind. I constantly heard Indians deplore the fact that many of the present generation of Englishmen living in India seemed to have discarded their belief in Christianity. In Mr Gandhi's room in the Ashram of Sevagram I noticed a picture of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane. The sobriety of India with regard to alcohol impressed me deeply during our stay. I never saw a drunken Indian. I also firmly believe that India has much to learn from us.

How can I sum up the welter of impressions I received from the first day on which I walked up the stone steps of the great secretariat building, leading to the External Affairs Department in New Delhi with very much the sensations of a new boy going to school to two years later when it was time for me to say farewell to my colleagues, both Indian and British?

#### THE INDIAN SCENE

Incredible India is a land of contrasts with almost every variety of scenery from the vast ranges of the Himalayas and the Hindu Kush to the teeming tropics of Travancore from the inhospitable and barren fastnesses of the North West Frontier to the parched deserts of Sind and Central India from the wonderful architectural triumphs, created when the Mongol Emperors were at their zenith to the wayside hovels of the Untouchables.

Two indelible impressions are of the beauty of the flowering trees in India and of the richness of the Indian bird life. No words can do justice to Indian gardens and flowering trees and shrubs before the scorching suns of April and May have had time to transform the soil into barren wastes of brown earth. It is impossible not to indulge in hyperbole when one recalls the beauty of the highways lined with *Poinsettia regia* or with *Jacaranda* or of the *Bombax* tree ablaze in early spring with crimson blossoms whither the birds come to suck the nectar from the hearts of the flowers.

The birds of India were an ever-constant joy. For the most part they seemed unafraid of human beings and to realize that mankind had no unfriendly designs on their freedom. I have spent hours watching them, from the vulture aloft in the bare branches of trees, the golden orioles and Paradise fly-catchers to the fairy like hoopoes tapping the ground with their beaks in the old world garden of the Residency at

Srinagar and elsewhere. In many parts of India I have been bewitched by the beauty of the flocks of emerald green parrots as they flew homewards in their thousands in the setting sun.

A couple of weeks after arriving in India we were invited by the Maharaj Rana of Dohlpur to stay with him and visit his game sanctuary and there, in the heart of the jungle, the outside world seemed very remote. We found ourselves in an animal kingdom recalling boyish memories of the Jungle Books. We made friends with sambhar, deer antelope, blue foxes and wild pig. It was hardly possible to hear our selves speak in the midst of the chorus of ke-ows coming from the peacocks on all sides.

The memory of the roads of India will always be with me from the Grand Trunk Road to the rural tracks, inches deep in dust in the dry weather. On every road and in every part of India there was an endless procession of sedate teams of lovely blue grey and white Indian cattle who bear so many of India's burdens. Those hard working cattle typify for me the patience of the Indian masses.

#### LORD LINLITHGOW AND THE PEASANTRY

Perhaps the greatest impact made was of the unremitting toil of the Indian peasant. India is above all things an agricultural community, a land of small villages there are 700,000 of them. India's greatest problem is how to improve the status of the peasants and ensure that in return for their ceaseless toil they receive a more adequate share of the good things of life. The coming of the war in 1939 prevented Lord Linlithgow from putting into effect some of the reforms for the betterment of Indian village life so near his heart and based on his wide experience. Since my return to England I deeply regret to find an inadequate appreciation here of the great services the ex Viceroy rendered both to India and the Empire in those very critical war years.

India's rural problems are very many and if only as much energy could be applied to their solution as is directed by certain individuals towards stirring up hate of their opponents their solution would be much nearer. In no part of the world is the evil of soil erosion more prevalent. There is urgent need for raising the general subsistence level of the community the population of India increases at the rate of five millions annually. It is essential not only to improve the methods of agriculture but to put a check on the bringing of vast numbers of human beings into the world doomed to a life of slavery. The great superfluity in the cattle population is another baffling problem. It is questionable whether it will ever be possible to establish a really satisfactory rural economy so long as cattle manure is used as fuel instead of as a fertilizer.

Before turning to the constitutional problem I should like to say a few words on the relations existing between the British and the Indian peoples. Firstly I know it is popular very often to decry the I.C.S. official. As a matter of fact I have rarely been more impressed by any group of men than by the I.C.S. officials, whom I met in all parts of the country. For the most part the British-born officials have entirely espoused the welfare of India, and two of the most enthusiastic workers for the betterment of India that I have ever met were Englishmen, one of whom is a crusader for the cause of the uplift of rural India.

#### SOCIAL RELATIONS

There is one problem, however, which I think should be mentioned which is of comparatively recent growth and probably due to the fact that, owing to frequent leaves the British resident in India, official or commercial nowadays brings his family with him, and therefore tends to lead a self-contained existence. There are, of course many Englishwomen, especially officials, doctors, missionaries and educationists, who have many India contacts and take a deep interest in Indian welfare, but in all parts of India I heard both from Hindu and Muslim a criticism that many British women consort almost exclusively with their own countrywomen and there is but little social mingling between Indian and British women. There may have been mistakes on both sides, but it cannot be good for Indo-British relations to have these

groups of foreigners in India leading their own lives and playing no part in the problems of the community in which they find themselves.

#### THE CRIPPS MISSION

May I now turn to India's constitutional problem and make a few general observations? In the first place, as I often sought to explain to American inquirers, if India does not today possess Dominion Status it is not the fault of the British Government. At the time of the Round Table Conferences nine-tenths of the problems at issue had been settled, and there certainly would have been an agreement if it had not been for Mr Gandhi's attitude. To come to more recent times, many of the Hindus whom I met agreed that a great mistake was made in October 1939 when the Congress Ministries throughout India resigned and the third occasion was when the Congress leaders deliberately turned their backs on the possibility of a settlement at the time of the Cripps Proposals. I was in Delhi during those dramatic days and at one moment there was general belief that we were on the eve of a settlement. There are many politicians in India today who think that a great mistake was made by those of their leaders who were responsible for turning down the Cripps offer and thereby made inevitable its withdrawal. However crying over spilt milk will not get us very far.

What ought we to do at the present time? The first thing to do is I think, to realize the diversity of India—a fact which many of the Government's critics in Great Britain fail to realize. Disappointment is certain in my opinion to meet the efforts of all those who continue to treat India as a single unit. To establish a strong and central Government in India is almost like attempting to set up a central Government in Europe. There is quite as much diversity in India as in Europe. One of India's best-known men said to me: "The British and the Germans have more in common than the Hindus and the Muslims."

#### THE PYRAMID

For most of my life I have studied minority problems throughout the British Commonwealth. Certainly the experience of the Dominions in the British Commonwealth and also if we look back to the momentous days of the creation of the American Union the original thirteen colonies shows us that success would never have been achieved if an attempt had been made to build *the pyramid from the top and not from the bottom*. Strong and enduring federations are not built in a minute. It is necessary first to lay sound foundations. The experience of the English-speaking world surely teaches us that it would have been impossible to achieve a workable federation unless the units had already been practised in the arts of local self government.

What I suggest therefore is that for a period of say from five to ten years the problem of devising the future central confederation or federation of India should be left over. In the immediate future attention should be concentrated on getting local autonomy working throughout the entire Indian sub-continent. But before this summation can be achieved the grievances of the minorities must be removed. The right of Hindu India to control its own destiny forthwith must be acknowledged as must the right of the greater part of Muslim India to nationhood. A great Muslim free state in North West India is inevitable and can play a great part in bringing stability to Southern Asia. This is not the place for a detailed statement as to all the problems involved in Muslim India's claim to Pakistan. I remember on one occasion asking that very wise statesman the late Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan how far he went with the Pakistan ideal; he replied, seventy-five per cent.

The fear complex is at the root of many of India's present problems, and I am convinced that the chief test of British statesmanship will be to show that it can remove the fear complex from the Muslims and assure them that Great Britain will welcome as a partner state, within the Commonwealth those sections of India with a sixty-five per cent population of Muslims.

I am anxious only to give my suggestions in the broadest outline if we once

realize that each racial group has its rights, we must also accord the rights of an Ulster to a Sikhistan within a larger Muslim State

Next comes the problem of the Untouchables, a minority of from fifty to sixty millions their problem is more complicated because they are scattered far and wide and do not occupy any one clearly defined territory—their miserable settlements are to be found outside almost every village in central and south India. The British Government has a great responsibility to see that justice is done to them and so has Hindu India, for the caste system is not a British importation but an indigenous growth. A large sum of money should be set aside by all India to be devoted to the higher education of the Untouchables and to provide for a great scheme of colonization for the Depressed classes on territory to be made available for this purpose and carried out under expert guidance.

#### THE INDIAN STATES

The claims of the Indian States must also be remembered. For many years they have been bound to the British Crown by treaties, and there can be no satisfactory settlement in India unless their claims are constantly borne in mind. The leading States should be granted Dominion Status and the four or five hundred of the smaller States without adequate resources should be grouped together in several Dominions under the Crown, or added to the nearest Province with which respectively they have racial or linguistic affiliations. A committee representing the larger States, nominees of the Crown and delegates of British India should advise on the gradual reduction of their number.

#### FOUR REGIONAL SPHERES

After the war for several years there will be a period of the redrawing of boundaries on a global scale. For that reason I have suggested that during this period all our efforts should be concentrated on getting local government as near to Dominion Status as possible to function in Hindu India, Muslim India, the Indian States and Sikh India. During this interregnum the reserved subjects of foreign affairs, defence, internal and external and customs, should be undertaken by the Government of India in consultation with the British Government. During this period India would be safeguarded from external aggression by the Indian Armed Forces, those of Great Britain and of the Dominions, provided they are prepared to lend a hand. Enlightened statesmanship should be able to remove the Muslim fear complex for once. North West India was a Muslim Dominion; there would be no danger of Hindu India seeking to relegate it to a subordinate position. I venture to think once Hindu India and Muslim India are successfully governing themselves apart from the three reserved subjects that before the five to ten year period which I have suggested, has elapsed, Hindu India and Muslim India, the Indian States and the other Indian Provinces would be able to hammer out an all India federation at the Conference table.

The self-governing Provinces of British India with a Hindu majority would probably unite together to create Hindustan, which with a population of probably two hundred and fifty millions would be the largest country in the world apart from China.

During the five to ten year interregnum every effort should be made to stimulate all India co-operation and an all India advisory council should be established to consider all India problems such as transport and communications, health, hygiene, drought, and combined action in the case of plague, locusts and other matters of all India concern.

India's present difficulties, so it seems to me, are largely due to an effort to regard India as a unit when no real unity once the British Raj were removed exists. I have heard on various occasions India's geographical unity urged but on other continents contiguity has not implied unity. The South American continent is not a unit despite its common faith, the Roman Catholic religion, and despite the fact that it speaks the Spanish language, with the exception of Portuguese Brazil. Political unity depends primarily on historic background and psychological conditions.

The proposals contained in the Cripps offer by which I am quite sure the British

Government still stands, are proof that the people of Great Britain have no desire to impose membership in the British Commonwealth on the peoples of India against their will. They want the peoples of India to control their own destiny. But the British Government has a great responsibility which is to be quite certain that when the moment comes for settling India's constitutional future the rights of every section of that vast country must be borne in mind.

I for one, hope that a great and glorious future lies before the Indians. I also hope that the various Indias will remain in close association with each other and with the British Empire. If Indian unity is our goal as it certainly should be, I am convinced that it will only be achieved by following some such plan as I have ventured to outline.

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## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

The HON. SECRETARY (Sir Frank Brown) announced that the Earl of Listowel, who was to have taken the Chair, was prevented from so doing owing to having charge of a Government measure in the House of Lords. In his place Sir Zafrulla Khan had kindly consented to preside.

SIR ZAFRULLA KHAN, in introducing Sir Evelyn Wrench, spoke of what he had done to promote goodwill and understanding. He was the founder both of the Overseas League and the English Speaking Union, and a journalist of wide experience on a high and serious level. He went out to India during the war to see things for himself and was asked to take on the job of American Relations Officer. The advent of the Americans in India during the war had created a many-sided problem, not only for the Government of India, but also for the British and for those Indians who had come into contact with them.

After the address by Sir EVELYN WRENCH

The CHAIRMAN said that the author had succeeded in transporting his audience from London to various parts of India by means of a succession of pictures which he had painted with a sure hand. He had touched upon matters both grave and gay. He himself was now holding a judicial position in India, and he was not at liberty to touch even upon comparatively innocuous problems, though he did not see why a judge of the Federal Court as constituted today, with its limited jurisdiction, should really fight shy of holding forth on general matters if he wished to do so.

Sir Evelyn had started with an expression of pride in what was known as the British Commonwealth of Nations. That feeling of pride he fully shared, though he would not have gone so far as to say to some people, "If you don't like it, then for God's sake get out of it." If the Indians began to study where they would get away to, rather than from whom they would get away, they might not be so enthusiastic about getting away at all.

He agreed that the key to some of the biggest Indian problems was through the village, and unless these 700,000 villages were made easily accessible and given a reasonable standard of public health and more interest was introduced into the life of the peasant, whether by literacy or by a more extensive development of the radio, the tendency to leave the villages so far as the more enlightened people were concerned would continue.

On the subject of constitution making—which was not quite politics, but dangerously near it—he agreed with Sir Evelyn Wrench that if it was at all possible to get by agreement among the Indian communities a centre of any sort at all it would have to be at least to start with, a centre with strictly limited powers, and therefore, from some points of view, a weak centre. But he would confirm him in his impression



from his experience that even if the centre started in a weak position it tended with the passage of time to gather power unto itself. If people began to learn to work together and trust each other the centre gradually became stronger than the strict letter of the constitution would have made it. In order to get any kind of centre it was absolutely necessary to take away the complex of fear and distrust.

There was one aspect of working together which no doubt was sometimes lost sight of that however limited the powers of the centre with regard to what it could do of its own volition a centre must leave room for voluntary co-operation between the units and if the various units worked together then much could be accomplished, without compulsion for which the constitution did not provide.

SIR TORICK AMEER ALI said that Sir Evelyn Wrench had spared them some of the graver repercussions of the war in India—namely famine, the abnormal rise in prices, and the spread of disease as a result of famine. He had made a reference in his paper to the unremitting industry of the Indian peasant. He was glad of that reference because it might help to counteract an impression which would be conveyed by the British Army on its return to England (not a first but a last impression) that the Indian people are lazy. His own happiest holidays were spent on the Madras Coast, and he had never seen such a day's work put in by anybody as was accomplished by the Telegu fishermen of that Coast.

On another point he differed from Sir Evelyn who had said that no Indian ever got drunk. That was not true. The Telegu fisherman himself was an example. When one first visited the east coast of India one heard an animated altercation between the women who were waiting and the men landing. The explanation was that the Telegu fisherman sold his fish to his wife. What she paid him was his drunk money. She took the fish to market, perhaps fifteen miles away and received the whole price to spend on the household. It seemed a very good arrangement.

He also took the liberty of differing from Sir Evelyn Wrench on the question of social relations. He did not agree that this was a new problem. It was stressed in very clear and incisive language by a distant ancestor of his own in 1776. Gholam Hussein Khan of Patna in a book he wrote at that time and again in a letter written just a hundred years ago by a great Englishman, Colonel Sleeman, in which he said: "We need not fear political dangers. The country is so divided that there are always differences of opinion. What we must guard against most carefully are dangers of a social nature which may affect all classes and creeds. But for those dangers the political difficulties with which we were faced in his humble opinion might not have arisen."

He had been interested in what Sir Evelyn Wrench had said about contact between Indian and British women. Personally he thought there was more of that than between the men of both nations was partly due to misconception in authoritative circles to the effect that the Indian female was less dangerous than the Indian male. Sir Evelyn Wrench who appeared to have followed the agricultural reforms of Lord Linlithgow should know that the Indian cow was much fiercer than the English cow and the Indian bull much tamer than the English bull.

On the subject of the Indian Civil Service he endorsed what had been said as to conscientious and able officials. On the other hand the Indian official whether British or Indian, lived at a time and under conditions which stood in the way of first class achievement. There was an atmosphere of impending collapse, a *fin de deux siècle* atmosphere. There was a state of affairs which always made it possible for a man who was not of the strongest character to shelve responsibility. In the highest circles of all for example, the Government of India could always say it was the Secretary of State and the Secretary of State could always say it was the Government of India. If one went to the Secretary in the local Government, it was always my Minister. If one went to the Minister, it was my Secretary. Lastly there was an available universal excuse for apathy. Indians (at any rate in political circles) were apt to say it was no use trying while the English were there. The Englishmen (when not of the first or second rank) were apt to say "What is the good of trying with these Indians here?" The result was that our joint level of effort was not the highest. There was a further difficulty in their way. They were separated from the rest of

humanity by a wall of paper—the finest insulating material in the world. They were separated from reality by a certain want of humour.

Sir HENRY CRAIK desired first of all to thank Sir Evelyn Wrench for his most characteristically personal if slightly discursive address. He would like to tell the audience the story of Sir Evelyn Wrench's first approach to what he had called the formidable portals of the Secretariat at Delhi. Actually Sir Evelyn had to sit in what he would not describe as an office, it was merely a small part of the corridor walled off with a wooden partition, and here he existed in a temperature of anything up to 120 degrees in the shade with no artificial cooling, and in winter with little or no heating. He had to deal with a difficult problem: the invasion of India by swarms of American journalists, most of them supremely ignorant and magnificently cocksure and only too ready to tell them exactly how they ought to run the country. It was Sir Evelyn Wrench's work in the world to keep these journalists tactfully on the right lines. Sometimes he came to the speaker and suggested that a particular journalist be given facilities to visit some of the States. Occasionally such facilities were abused. He remembered one case where a journalist who had gone under his auspices to one of the most important States in India wrote an article in atrocious taste which would have given great offence to that State if it had ever appeared. Sir Evelyn brought the draft of the article to him and suggested that he might like to blue pencil it. After reading it he said: "No, this is not a case for a blue pencil; nothing of this can go through," and Sir Evelyn had the task of communicating this decision to the author.

He did not want to follow Sir Evelyn in the more constructive parts of his paper, but he would suggest that there was a great deal to be said for the point of view that they ought to begin by building up from the Provinces. The general opinion about India was that the Act of 1935 had broken down altogether. That was not true at all. In some Provinces the provincial side of the Act was still working perfectly well. In his own Province the Punjab it had throughout been a great success. They had had a stable Government, with no changes for more than seven years. In certain respects it might be that the standard of administration was possibly not quite so efficient as it used to be. There might be a little more nepotism, a little lowering of standards in that and other respects. But, on the whole, the Government had worked without serious disturbance, order had been maintained, a great deal of most excellent administrative improvements had been made, much useful social and economic legislation had been passed and above all there had been a tremendous quickening of political consciousness and interest in public affairs on the part of the ordinary people. That was an example of what a local government constituted under the present Act could achieve if the Act was properly worked. It was due to the fact that the all-India communal organizations which were the greatest obstacle to progress had little hold on the Province and that the great political caucuses, often dominated by a single personality, did not count to any great extent. In the Punjab the Ministry had always been and still was a coalition of Muslim, Hindu and Sikh elements, which on the whole had worked very harmoniously.

The speaker would like to add a word on the future of the States. It was very easy to sneer at the States as the domain of despots who abused their privileges and were entirely autocratic. That was a cheap form of sneer, and certainly not generally justified. No doubt in some States the administration was far from perfect. In some of them the Ruler still occasionally abused his powers, though such abuse was generally followed by swift retribution. But it should never be forgotten that when British fortunes were at their very lowest, when Germany had overrun the Low Countries and France had collapsed and Britain stood absolutely alone, the States came forward to our help with everything they had. They gave unstinted and generous assistance in men, money and indeed, every kind of help. It was not perhaps fully realized in this country what sacrifices the States had made. Take Mysore: Mysore had become the headquarters of one of the greatest armies in India. He supposed that hundreds of square miles of that State had had to be given up to aerodromes, cantonments, bombing practice grounds, aeroplane factories, and the like, while thousands of private houses and State buildings had been taken for the purpose.

of the war But the State had agreed to all this with the utmost readiness, without a murmur, and for the most part without financial compensation.

Some of the smaller States were now generally admitted to be anachronisms, and probably the best solution for them and their subjects would be their absorption into their larger neighbours But he earnestly hoped that the great States would be preserved and that we should do our best to honour our obligations and our treaty undertakings to them

Mr HUGH MOLSON, M P said that listening to Sir Evelyn Wrench talking about his friendly relations with India and knowing, as some of them did the valuable liaison work which he carried through when the Americans first went into India, he felt it incumbent on him first to pay a tribute to Sir Evelyn for his tactful and devoted work He wanted only to refer briefly from the political and constitutional point of view to the constructive proposals which he had put forward for dealing with the Indian problem as it faced them today He only did so because he had noticed a general tendency to despair of the possibility of preserving the unity of India

With great respect, he differed from Sir Evelyn Wrench in taking as analogous with the present position of India the origins of the United States of America or the Australian Commonwealth In those cases statesmen started with a large number of scattered colonies which it was necessary to unify and bring together In the case of India whatever might be the criticisms of British rule during the last two centuries at any rate the unity which Britain had given to India had been of incalculable benefit When Sir Evelyn referred to Europe he would compare the happy position of India which enjoyed this unity with the devastation which had taken place in Europe twice in one lifetime Surely here in Europe the most idealistic and progressive minds were devoting themselves to devising some machinery to unify the many diverse European nations and also to bring the economic advantages which undoubtedly would result if they were all in one single economic union protected by one customs barrier and enjoying the blessings of free trade He regarded as a counsel of despair the idea of breaking India into three or four different political and economic units

Sir Evelyn Wrench, like many of those who had written on the subject before did not face up to any of the practical difficulties How was it possible for example to talk about an intermediate period during which a Government of India would continue and would deal with customs in consultation with the British Government? A matter of that kind could not be dealt with in consultation with another Government The Government of India must either be responsible to some electorate or other in India or to the Secretary of State and to Parliament in this country How could there be one authority dealing with the customs while another was responsible for the whole economic policy and industrial development of India? How would it be possible to deal with problems like irrigation, and so on when it might very well be that the political boundaries would cut right across a single irrigation scheme?

Therefore he would enter a mild protest It might well be that in their desire to solve what were apparently at present the insoluble problems of India they would be driven as a last resort to acquiesce in the break up of India and its reduction to the miserable state of affairs obtaining in South America or in Europe But he would be very sorry indeed to regard as inevitable the final break up of what he believed to have been the greatest and most indisputable contribution that this country had given to India and the greatest hope which did exist for the future peace and prosperity of all the Indian peoples

Sir ALFRED WATSON said that Mr Hugh Molson had anticipated much of what he had intended to say Planning he felt, was in danger of becoming a national vice in India Sir Evelyn Wrench had come forward with his own plan, to which he had listened with attention and with the measured admiration which it deserved Unfortunately he found Sir Evelyn most obscure where clearness was most desirable Sir Evelyn had divided India into four parts, but he had not told them what was to be the Central Government controlling those four parts He had given them no indication of how that Central Government was to come into existence It could be created only by the goodwill of his four Indias, and the very existence of those Indias would

deny the possibility of such co-operation. For the Central Government to continue as at present was frankly impossible. It was weak enough as it was, it could not exist at all, or direct the affairs of India if India were divided.

What Sir Evelyn Wrench had done in his building from the bottom was to leave his structure without a roof and exposed to every storm that blows. Nor did Sir Alfred understand his reference to building the pyramid from the top so far as it applied to what had been done in India as compared with what had been done in the greater colonies. They had built up gradually in India from the local government, through representative and responsible government, finally attaining to full provincial autonomy. Had the Act of 1935 been carried out—had the Indians been willing to carry it out—India today would be federated and have complete Dominion status. They had built so far but the coping stone still remained to be placed on the building, and it could be placed there only by Indian hands.

Sir Evelyn seemed to him to scatter into fragments the jig saw puzzle which was India just as they were hoping to fit the last pieces into place. He did not seem to grasp what Pakistan implied. Pakistan would require a Muslim Central Government of Muslim India which might be centred at Delhi. Sir Evelyn spoke of those areas of India in which there was a 65 per cent majority of Muslims. There were such areas in Sind and the North West Provinces but not in the Punjab and not in Bengal and if Sir Evelyn proposed to exclude the Punjab and Bengal from his Pakistan he did not envy him his next interview with Mr Jinnah. Nor would he care to be the ambassador who conveyed to the Sikhs the proposal that they should become an Ulster in a Hindu India.

Again Sir Evelyn proposed to take the Untouchables out of all their villages and assemble them into a vast colony of 50 million. Did he realize that miserable as the conditions of these people might be they were an integral part of Indian life? They could not be taken from the places in which they dwelt without destroying the structure of Hindu life. Where in India would be found room for his colony of 50 million without such a movement of population as history had never seen before? We had our responsibility to the depressed classes but that responsibility must be discharged where they are. It was a responsibility to see that in any constitution to which we can assent they are given equal opportunities to those of other sections of the population.

His final comment on the plan they had heard that afternoon was—it will not work.

Sir Evelyn Wrench replied that the various suggestions he had made had been based on advice he received from friends in different parts of India. He did not know how many of those present had ever tried in the space of thirty five minutes to settle the affairs of one fifth of humanity. He had referred to the Untouchables but he had never suggested removing them and forming them into a compact whole. What he had said was that the Untouchables were an Indian responsibility especially a Hindu responsibility. There should be a great sum of money set aside for higher education for the Untouchables, and a scheme of colonization under expert guidance to a place where land could be obtained.

Sir Alfred Watson said that the roof only remained to be put on. Well it was not only in India that roofs remained to be put on. He had discussed with Mr Gandhi the scheme which he had brought forward and he had found him by no means unsympathetic. Those who said that India was a unit thanks to 200 years of British rule were talking absolute nonsense. As for comparing India with Europe or South America he had not proposed to compare continents, he was merely trying to make some practical suggestions. It was not a counsel of despair. Before unity was attained in India its present disunity must first be realized. If grievances were removed there would be a possibility of uniting India.

He did not want to go down to history as attacking the British community in India. And he did not yield even to Mr Gandhi in his veneration for the Indian cow. He had never lost the thrill he had felt from watching that animal as he drove along the roads of India.

Concerning Mr Molson's reference to irrigation problems, there were irrigation

problems as between the United States and Canada. Irrigation was already the responsibility of the Provinces so that that criticism did not quite apply.

Lady WILLINGTON moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman and to Sir Evelyn Wrench. She said how much she and her husband admired the Indians and found them wonderful. They were in India for sixteen years, she had been home for nine years, yet this Christmas she had had 462 cards from Indians alone. For the work of Sir Evelyn Wrench she, as Chairman of the Overseas League, had tremendous admiration.

The vote of thanks was unanimously accorded and the CHAIRMAN in responding, said that if Lord and Lady Willington found the Indians wonderful it was because they were wonderful themselves.

## BRITAIN'S INDIAN MARKET—PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

BY SIR THOMAS AINSCOUGH, C.B.E.

(Late H.M. Senior Trade Commissioner in India, Burma and Ceylon)

AMID the manifold distractions of five years of war, conditions in the great consuming markets for British goods tend to become obscured. The approaching end of the struggle in Europe and the growing realization on all sides that this country must expand its export trade by more than 50 per cent. if it is to maintain its balance of payments and the pre-war standard of living call for a close and immediate study of our great export outlets and provide the occasion for this paper. India for more than fifty years was our most important export market. During the decade preceding the outbreak of war her takings of U.K. goods, owing to a variety of exceptional reasons, were exceeded by the Union of South Africa and the Commonwealth of Australia. Her potentialities as a field for rapid development in the future are now ever greater than ever before. I hope to show that, provided the immediate post-war situation is handled by His Majesty's Government and by U.K. industrialists and exporters with care, foresight and understanding, there is no reason why India should not regain her position as our most important market, thereby contributing to the economic welfare of both countries and strengthening the bonds of mutual interest which have always so closely united us despite political differences and misunderstandings.

Inasmuch as events and tendencies in the immediate past influence and canalize trends for the future, it will be convenient to consider the question under four main headings—namely:

- (1) The inter-war period covering 1918-1939, showing the situation at the beginning of the present war.
- (2) The war period to date, outlining the principal effects of the impact of war on the U.K. position in India.
- (3) The short-term post-war interregnum.
- (4) The long-term post-war period with some assessment of future prospects.

### THE INTER-WAR PERIOD

The period between the two world wars, during which the U.K. share of India's imports fell from over 60 per cent. to below 30 per cent., was marked by four outstanding developments which affected the volume and even more the character of our exports to the market. These may be summarized as follows:

- (a) The almost complete elimination of the imports of U.K. cotton piecegoods and steel and their replacement by Indian production.

(b) The domination of the bazaar trade in cheap consumers goods by Japan *pari passu* with growing competition from Indian industries.

(c) The steady growth in the demand for capital goods and the equipment stores accessories and semi-manufactured materials needed by an expanding and diversified domestic industrial system and

(d) The increasing sophistication of a growing section of Indian consumers as a result of a marked rise in the standard of living of the urban population and the adoption of Western comforts and quasi luxuries. This movement is clearly indicated by an enhanced offtake of quality goods and a growing demand for items such as motor vehicles cycles electrical appliances of all kinds cinematograph films, telephone installations, wireless and broadcasting equipment photographic and other instruments and accessories, refrigerating and air-conditioning equipment drugs toilet requisites and cosmetics wines spirits and other European beverages and the higher grades of provisions.

The first two developments were inevitable in view of the industrial resurgence of India under cover of a protective system and stimulated by economic nationalization. They have none the less fallen particularly heavily on British industry and over a considerable period of years created considerable distress in Lancashire and certain other industrial districts in the United Kingdom. Our exports had been adjusted to this accepted serious dislocation and a new position of equilibrium had been attained by the time the war started in 1939.

#### HIGHER STANDARDS

The last two developments fortunately, operate strongly to our advantage. Our hope for the future lies in the further growth of Indian urban prosperity based partly on a revival of scientific agriculture but largely on expanded Indian industries, closely allied with British capital and technical skill founded on British standards and equipment and bringing in their train that higher standard of living which inevitably results in an increased and diversified purchasing power. For some years prior to the war the United Kingdom no longer supplied the cheaper consumer goods in demand by the Indian masses. She did however provide the machinery heavy chemicals equipment and stores for Indian industry which had been built up on British standards and practice. For decades our engineers and chemists had co-operated with Indian industrialists in the lay-out and design of their plants thoroughly understood their special needs and had developed a highly efficient sales service and follow up organization staffed by men with long experience of the country. It is indeed fortunate for both sides that this close relationship should exist at the present time when India is on the eve of great industrial expansion and requires the best technical advice and machinery that the world can offer. Moreover this development of our exports of capital goods runs parallel and in sympathy with Indian politico-economic aspirations is therefore viewed with favour and not suspicion and should help to allay many political animosities based on racial economic prejudice.

Also scientific agriculture and the growth of Indian industries by raising the purchasing power will foster and sustain the demand for the higher-grade products of our light engineering scientific and quality industries and will provide a valuable outlet for those products some of which I have enumerated. During the past decade the increasing exports of our lighter industries have tended partly to offset the decline in the staple items such as cotton and steel. It is recognized in this country that we must depend more and more upon these high-grade products of scientific research. In India we find a rapidly increasing demand, of which we have hitherto enjoyed our full share. U.K. products are well known and find a ready sale. Our manufacturers are strongly represented by branches and operate a network of distributing organizations on the spot. They are well ahead with plans for expansion and the application of high-powered selling and distributing organizations to meet the post-war development.

To summarize the position at the outbreak of the war in 1939 I cannot do better than quote from a report written in 1938 in which I stated:

The question arises as to how it will be possible to make good the decline and possible extinction of exports of such magnitude as cotton textiles, iron and steel

railway equipment, rubber tyres, tobacco products, soap, etc., which have hitherto been the mainstays of our trade with India. A partial solution of the problem will be found in the rapid development of the country which is already resulting in a remarkable diversification of her economic requirements. The resilience shown by the imports of machinery, chemicals and motor vehicles is most marked. To these one might add the astonishing growth of recent demand for electrical appliances of all kinds, cinematograph films, wireless and broadcasting equipment, telephone installations, refrigerating and air-conditioning plants and the specialized equipment required by a rapidly growing industrial community. The response shown of late years by large sections of the Indian people to the provision of improved modern facilities has been remarkable. The recent extensions of the telephone network throughout the country have been taken up at once, and have provided an almost immediate return on the capital invested.

The senior Indian business man in the towns today travels by car as well as by rail, has his correspondence typed, uses the telephone not only for long-distance calls to Indian centres, but also to the United Kingdom and other countries. He does not hesitate to travel by air, he probably owns a wireless set and almost invariably makes full use of electrical appliances such as modern lights, fans and domestic refrigerators. His family regularly attend the cinema, are interested in photography and make full use of modern sewing machines, drugs, cosmetics and toilet requisites. The demand for Western foodstuffs and beverages which until recently were regarded as luxuries is increasing rapidly. On all sides one sees as in the United Kingdom a changed outlook towards commodities formerly regarded as luxuries but which are now considered to be necessities for the enjoyment of a full life. It is clear that we must rely more and more in future on the shipment to India of capital products, technical equipment and high grade specialties, thus aiding her own development with our experience and technique.

In short, we must bring in the products of our scientific research and technical skill to redress the balance created by India's own manufacture of her simpler types of consumer goods.

#### WAR EFFECTS

Let us now turn to the impact of the war on India's economy. We shall find that the sharply-defined tendencies noted above which should redound to our advantage have acquired increased momentum as a result of war experience, and seem likely to determine the contribution of the United Kingdom to India's post-war import trade.

The establishment of a vast Indian munitions industry to serve our armies in the Middle East and the decision at a later stage after Japan entered the war to make India the main supply base for the South East Asia Command have created an unprecedented demand for plant, machinery, tools and equipment. Similarly the exclusion of Continental supplies placed upon the U.K. and the U.S.A. the burden of providing the chemicals, drugs, dyes, metals and hardware hitherto drawn from Germany, Sweden, Czechoslovakia and Switzerland. As it was necessary for war reasons to maintain India's industrial output at a high level few obstacles were placed against the imports of vital capital goods and in contrast with our experience in other markets, U.K. shipments have been well maintained and in certain cases such as dyestuffs, materially increased. Moreover, our unrivalled distributing organizations, although weakened to some extent by the conscription of European staffs have been retained intact, and are in close contact with Indian millowners discussing with them their post-war plans and negotiating for the rehabilitation and expansion of their works. When one considers the great strain under which U.K. industrialists have been working during the war years, I have been astonished by the detailed and far-sighted planning for the future that is being undertaken and the well-considered schemes to meet India's special needs after the war. Great credit is also due to exporters of consumer goods who have been unable to maintain their supplies during the war years for their foresight in continuing to insert attractive and skilfully framed advertisements in the Indian Press usually regretting their temporary inability to maintain regular supplies of their products, but promising to replenish stocks and make shipments as soon as possible after the war.

Although the war has brought considerable hardship to the numerous class of clerks, minor officials and persons with fixed incomes, large sections of the population have been able to improve their standard of living. The masses of the agricultural population are probably considerably better off as they are obtaining bumper prices for their produce and their wants are very few beyond the food (which they grow for themselves) and a few immediate necessities such as sugar and kerosene the prices of which being controlled have not risen proportionately with manufactured goods. There is evidence to show that the agriculturist in the Punjab and elsewhere is eating more of his own produce and is reducing his indebtedness to the moneylender. The sections of the population which have profited most from the war, even allowing for the increased costs of living, are the proprietors of and share holders in Indian industries the numerous classes of merchants middlemen and shopkeepers throughout the towns and villages and above all the great army of speculators and hoarders, who have exploited the foodstuff and commodity short ages. Profits have been phenomenal and, in many cases the Government of India have not been able to take their share of the gains in the form of income tax and excess profits duty nor to check the speculators who control the black markets in almost every commodity.

It may, in general be stated that the sections of the community whose purchasing power has been increased as a result of the war are the upper middle and artisan classes of the urban population. These are precisely the classes which provide the market for the high-grade and quasi luxury types of consumer goods which are imported from the United Kingdom. The pent up demand for such goods, after the war years of scarcity may be expected to be on a large scale in the years immediately following the end of the war. The United Kingdom and the United States will for a time be almost the sole suppliers and will share the market at least for a period sufficient to enable stocks to be replenished.

It is in the realm of industrialization that the war has had the most striking effects. The demands firstly for munitions and military stores and also for larger ranges of consumer goods due to acute shortage of imports have given a remarkable fillip to Indian industry. The steel engineering metal working and cotton textile industries have expanded their output and increased the range of their production to the fullest extent possible during the war period. While the development has mainly taken place among existing industries ambitious schemes are on foot for the establishment of new industries of all kinds both heavy and light.

#### BRITISH CO-OPERATION

Large amounts of capital have been accumulated for investment in these enterprises and their Indian promoters now seek the co-operation of U.K. and U.S. manufacturers in providing the patents designs technical equipment and specialized plant needed for their establishment. This movement towards co-operation with British industrialists has made considerable progress during the past two years largely through the efforts of Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar when he was in London as a member of the War Cabinet. It will be brought to a head during the impending visit of the party of prominent Indian industrialists who are being given special facilities to come to this country with the dual objects

(1) To obtain assurances of supply of and if possible to place orders for large quantities of machinery capital goods and equipment of all sorts urgently needed to repair the wastage of the war effort and to extend existing works and

(2) To secure the co-operation of United Kingdom (and later U.S.A.) manufacturers in the establishment and development of new industries in India and in the industrialization of India generally.

There is abundant evidence that the leading U.K. manufacturers with experience of the Indian market fully recognize the natural and reasonable aspirations of Indians to make India a great industrial power and that constructive co-operation to that end is desirable. They will be prepared to examine sympathetically any practical and feasible proposals for co-operation and there is no doubt that our Indian visitors will be cordially received. The way has, in fact already been prepared by several private negotiations which have been proceeding for some time. The advantages of retain



ing India's political and economic goodwill are self-evident, and although we should hesitate long before lightly transferring our trained ability, technical competence and marketing organization which are our greatest assets, it is in our own interest as well as to the advantage of India that we should contribute on the most equitable basis we can achieve to her industrial development with all its promise of an increasing market for our specialties and fine products

#### INDIA A CREDITOR COUNTRY

The outstanding fundamental change in India's economic position as a result of the war is that she has completed the transition from a debtor to a creditor country. In the short space of five years she has extinguished her public sterling indebtedness to the United Kingdom and has accumulated balances in London at the credit of the sterling securities reserve account of the Reserve Bank of India which are likely to exceed the figure of 1,000 million pounds sterling at the close of the war. This is not the occasion to discuss at length this vital question of sterling balances and the steps which are likely to be taken for their liquidation. It is clear that their effect on the course of India's imports from the United Kingdom will be profound. In his Budget speech in 1943 the Finance Member Sir Jeremy Raisman stated:

There will still remain a substantial surplus in London above the amount which is likely to be required as a reserve against our currency note circulation. The Government of India are therefore considering the proposal that something in the nature of a Reconstruction Fund should be constituted to provide for the financing of a programme of post war reconstruction including the rehabilitation and re-equipment of industry. It is clear that in the post war period India will have heavy demands for imported machinery and plant to equip her greatly expanded industrial system to re-equip her railways and to enable Provincial and State Governments to carry out schemes of electrification irrigation and the like which have had to remain in abeyance during the war. It may be taken for granted that it will be found necessary even after the end of the war to proceed on some orderly programme for the purchase of these capital goods from the producing countries. The first essential would probably be a careful and comprehensive survey of India's requirements and the establishment of some order of priority upon which a programme could be drawn up. In so far as this programme depended on the ability of producing countries to release certain types of goods for export it would clearly involve international co-operation and in particular the assistance and co-operation of His Majesty's Government. The existence of such a reconstruction fund coupled with a concerted programme of requirements would place India in a favourable position to endeavour to secure the early fulfilment of her post war needs and so enable her to go ahead with post war reconstruction with the minimum of delay.

#### RECONSTRUCTION PLANS

Since this statement was made great progress has been achieved by the Reconstruction Department of the Government of India in preparing a programme of essential national requirements over a considerable period of years. Early in 1944 the Plan of Economic Development for India issued by eight prominent Indian industrialists and known as the Bombay Plan was published privately. While this document is in the form of an ideal target for ultimate achievement rather than a blue print, it met with considerable success in focusing attention on the problem. Shortly after its publication one of its signatories Sir Ardesir Dalal of the Tata Company, was appointed by the Government of India to be the Member for Reconstruction and Planning. The first results of the work of this department have recently been published in the first and second reconstruction reports of the Government of India, which are now available in London. Therein are outlined long term plans for the rehabilitation and extension of the country's agriculture, power supply, railways, roads, essential public works, health requirements etc. together with an outline of the policy which is likely to be followed and the financial measures which will be necessary. These reports should be studied by every British manufacturer with interests in India as they are a useful guide to the progressive needs of the

future and provide evidence of the new spirit which is inspiring the Government of India.

It is clear that the demand for capital goods and plant on Government account alone would be sufficient to keep many industries in this country active for years to come. Over and above this programme, account must be taken of the heavy demands from existing private industries in India to rehabilitate and renew their plants, which have been worn out during the war years. To these must be added the numerous plans for new industries for which capital is already available, and to which I have already referred. The need for providing the interest and amortization of Britain's debt to India which can only be repaid in the form of goods or services, will be a powerful factor in canalizing all these demands for capital goods to U.K. sources of supply. From the standpoint of the individual manufacturer it is immaterial from what source payment is made against his shipments. From the national point of view however it would appear preferable that our shipments of capital goods to India should be paid for by imports from India of urgently needed foodstuffs and raw materials rather than that their contribution to the settlement of our international balance of account should be neutralized by setting them off against blocked balances in London. It is to be hoped that the sterling balances will only be used to finance shipments over and above those needed to pay for essential imports of Indian products.

#### THE INTERIM PERIOD

We will now consider the probable conditions in the Indian market during the short term interregnum of three, four or five years after the close of the war with Japan. During this period India will present an almost insatiable demand for all types of goods, both capital items and consumers' requirements in order to replenish stocks of both which have completely run down during the war period. It seems likely that the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. will be the only countries in a position to meet this demand. The former by virtue of (1) her close contacts with each section of the trade, (2) her long established well advertised and proven types of goods, (3) her unrivalled distributing sales and service organization on the spot covering every trade and in every part of India, and (4) the intimate acquaintance of her manufacturers and merchants with the precise requirements of the country, will be in a position to secure by far the greater share of the trade. During this abnormal period when there will be a sellers' market and the problems will be those of availability of the goods, possibility of shipment and controls in the countries of origin rather than those of price and quality, it is likely that our exporters may be able to reopen many branches of trade, for example in cotton textiles which had been lost to them for years. They should be cautious in interpreting any ephemeral success of this kind as an indication of a permanent revival.

#### U.S.A. COMPETITION

A great deal of concern has been shown in this country on the subject of American competition. While it is true that U.S. shipments under Lend Lease terms of steel, machinery and industrial plant, harbour and dock equipment, locomotives, agricultural machinery, chemicals, dyestuffs, etc. have been considerable during the past three years when U.S. goods have been used for the first time in many branches of activity which had hitherto been supplied exclusively by the United Kingdom, it is open to doubt whether American manufacturers will be able, or indeed will wish, to retain this trade when the war is over. India's experience of American export policy based on the events of 1918-21 at the close of the last war, is that the more lucrative domestic market takes first place in the attentions of U.S. firms which are often prepared to abandon Eastern markets to their fate if home demands can absorb their production.

It is possible that this state of affairs may recur. In the first place the change over to peace-time production will be a longer and more difficult process now than the American industry has been so largely absorbed in the war effort. Secondly the American market will have been denuded of stock to an extent never before experienced. Thirdly the demands on U.S. industry from UNRRA to rehabilitate

the countries of Europe, Russia, China and the Far East will be on an unprecedented scale. Lastly the United States is more likely to direct her exports, after the above demands have been met, to her favourite markets of South America and China than to attack a complex and specialized market such as India, where she will have to meet firmly established U.K. competition. That American exporters will considerably increase their share of the Indian trade—particularly in transport items such as railway material, motor vehicles, aircraft, roadmaking and contractors plant—is certain but exaggerated fears of American rivalry should be restrained bearing in mind the wide disparity between the price levels of this country and the U.S.A.

We shall probably find that the Commonwealth Government and Australian merchants will endeavour to regain the business in India which they enjoyed at our expense, during the early period of the war scarcity. The conception of the Eastern Group Conference to make the British Empire in the East more self-sufficient and interdependent is a well founded one which is likely to endure. It seems reasonable to suppose that provided shipping tonnage can be made available, Australian steel and metal manufactures will contribute to the rehabilitation for example of Malaya and the Netherlands Indies.

#### A GREAT OPPORTUNITY

In the short term period therefore we may assume that the United Kingdom will have virtually a free hand in supplying the Indian market. Whether she will be able to take full advantage of this position will depend upon three main factors.

(a) The rapidity and smoothness of demobilization and the change-over to peacetime production.

(b) The degree of priority accorded to shipments to India in an export trade which it seems clear will have to be controlled if we are to meet the unprecedented demands from all over the world. It would appear that, while His Majesty's Government may be forced to allocate a definite proportion of an industry's (or firm's) production to export, they are likely to leave the industry (or firm) free to determine the markets to which this allocation should be shipped, relying on the fact that, broadly the interests of any industry or firm in this regard coincide with those of the State.

(c) The extent to which our manufacturers and export merchants are prepared to execute orders from India in face of possibly more lucrative business from elsewhere. In view of their long and profitable association with India and in view of their elaborate and expensive local organizations, built up after years of expense and effort, it is not anticipated that there need be much anxiety on this account.

#### THE LONG TERM OUTLOOK

Finally let us consider briefly our prospects during the long term period after India's stocks of consumer goods have been replenished, her industries and public works rehabilitated and the more pressing schemes for national reconstruction embarked upon. We, obviously shall not be able to retain permanently such a large percentage of India's imports as we are likely to enjoy in the immediate post-war interregnum. There will be a considerable time lag before the prosperity created by India's rapid industrialization is fully reflected by a corresponding increase in the demand for the higher grades of consumer goods.

Meanwhile, the increasing volume and range of Indian production will tend to restrict the market for imported articles. Not only does India now produce almost the whole of her staple requirements of the simpler forms of consumers' goods, but she is extending her activities to many classes of capital goods such as the manufacture of locomotives and general railway equipment, steam and oil engines, electric motors and switchgear, cables, steel tubes and hoops, simple machine tools, agricultural implements and textile machinery, the sheet rolling of copper, yellow metal and aluminium, tinplates, heavy chemicals, pharmaceuticals and surgical instruments and a host of minor products. Moreover imbued by strong sentiments of economic nationalism, she is determined to undertake more ambitious forms of manufacture such as motor vehicles, internal combustion engines, rayon, aircraft and shipbuild.

ing. While this striking programme will create an unprecedented demand for machinery and plant, equipment and stores, intermediates and semi-manufactured products, much of this demand will be non-recurring and meanwhile the products of the new industries will progressively restrict the import trade in them.

When one studies the reconstruction reports of the Government of India and appreciates the vast quantities of capital goods which will be required, year by year for decades to come, to complete these great schemes for railway and road improvement and extension public works irrigation dock and harbour and electric power projects public health and agricultural development and uplift one realizes that we are entering upon a new era presenting prospects which cannot be measured by any pre war yardstick or experience. I am confident however that established United Kingdom suppliers are likely to secure the bulk of these contracts in view firstly, of their having nursed most of the projects for years secondly, of their privileged position as contractors who are in the closest touch with Government engineers and purchasing officers and have supplied most of the existing plant which has been tested and proven by decades of good service and thirdly of the fact that British standards and practice prevail throughout India.

#### SOME SUGGESTIONS

If I might take this opportunity of making a constructive contribution I would ask U.K. manufacturers when dealing with the practical problems of their representation in India to consider the following specific recommendations:

- (1) The advisability in certain cases with Indian co-operation of local manufacture as an adjunct to exports.
- (2) The need for the elimination of wasteful competition between manufacturers in the same industry and the desirability of co-operation *vis-à-vis* foreign competition.
- (3) The greater utilization of existing manufacturers branches in India for the representation of makers of complementary goods.
- (4) The greater utilization of the extensive up-country organization of certain firms for the distribution of goods in common use throughout India.
- (5) The pressing need for the retention of the Export Groups and in many cases the appointment by them of their own organization in India either in the form of an intelligence outpost to ensure that the Group secures its fair share of the market or in a few instances in the form of a practical sales and service organization which would be in a position to offer a complete range of products in demand by any particular Indian industry or section of consumers.

#### A HOPEFUL PROSPECT

It would appear that our long term future position in the Indian market will largely depend upon the manner in which we handle the most difficult interim period at the close of the war. Provided that His Majesty's Government carry out their demobilization plans and relax their controls smoothly and with vision provided that British industry does its utmost to give India its fair share of supplies at a fair price and within reasonable delivery dates, and provided that our manufacturers handle their individual Indian problems of representation, service and sales with understanding and foresight, then I see no reason why our great traditional position in the market should not be retained. India is on the threshold of a rebirth in her economic life at the close of which she will probably take her place as one of the foremost countries in the world with a national economy well balanced between agriculture and industry. Her trading relations with the Empire have become even more closely interwoven during recent years, and this country alone absorbs one third of her total exports of produce. Bearing this in mind and giving full weight to our unique experience of Indian trade and the peculiar needs of the country—our vested interests in the market, our unrivalled business contacts and reputation—to which must now be added the advantages from our debtor position—it is surely not too much to hope that India may once again become our greatest export market.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Tuesday February 27 1945 at the Caxton Hall Caxton Street, S W 1 when Sir THOMAS AINSKOUGH C B E (late H.M. Senior Trade Commissioner in India, Burma and Ceylon), read a paper entitled *Britain's Indian Market—Past Present and Future*

The late Rt Hon HARCOURT JOHNSTONE, M P, presided. He said that the lecturer had been one of his colleagues since he had occupied the office of Secretary of Overseas Trade as Senior Trade Commissioner in India. Sir Thomas served in that capacity for no less than twenty-seven years with the greatest possible advantage to this country and to India. He had admirable preparation for the post because he thoroughly understood trade and commerce from having been engaged in it. He also had the advantage of being intimately acquainted with China with whose trade and commerce India was bound to be associated in the long run.

It was clear that it would be greatly to the advantage of both that the trade of India and the United Kingdom should be active after the war. There were bound to be great demands for consumer goods which must be filled very largely by United Kingdom industries. The whole world would be in need of goods but in India the United Kingdom would find a market which would not only be to her advantage but to the advantage of the purchaser. It was too often forgotten that those who bought received an equal advantage with those who sold and if the United Kingdom could help to supply India's needs she would not only be serving herself but would be assisting in the recuperation and renewal of Indian industry. On all these subjects Sir Thomas was a leading authority and his paper would speak of the results of his experience.

Sir THOMAS AINSKOUGH prefaced the reading of the paper by expressing his gratitude to Mr Harcourt Johnstone for finding time to preside. He felt it an honour and privilege to lecture to the East India Association as it provided the best platform in London for the consideration of Indian affairs.

The CHAIRMAN said that he had enjoyed the address very much. It had given him for the first time, a complete picture of Anglo-Indian trade and commerce. The paper could not fail to be of the utmost value and he hoped it would receive wide publicity.

There was one point on which he would like to be enlightened. Sir Thomas spoke of the part which United Kingdom industry could play in helping to build up Indian industry. It was too often taken for granted by the statesmen of the Dominions that it was part of the United Kingdom's policy to attempt to prevent the growth of Dominion industry which competed with United Kingdom industry. He could not deny that too warmly. The policy of H.M. Government was to advise the industrialists of the United Kingdom to take every opportunity to co-operate within the Empire in selling their old-acquired skill and knowledge to industrialists all over the Empire. Although at first sight it might appear to be the short-term disadvantage of British industry in the long run it was greatly to its advantage. The more advanced a nation became the better customer it became. He could not say too strongly that it was no part of H.M. Government's policy to check the industrialization of India. On the contrary, there should be the closest co-operation between the United Kingdom and India in making as modern as possible the equipment of India.

Sir GEOFFREY CLARKE (late President London Chamber of Commerce) said that he was not sure that things would work out quite on the lines suggested by Sir Thomas Ainscough, because those who dealt with India knew what big competitors the Americans were and how they were staking their claim very keenly at the present moment while the British were not in a position to do very much.

As the speaker had said, there was an enormous market available in India and it was a market which the Indians themselves would like to exploit. The Bombay plan was a very ambitious plan for the industrialization of India but there were grave

dangers in intensive industrialization of an agricultural country. There was the danger of mass unemployment at certain periods and it might be better if efforts were directed first to a general improvement in agricultural methods. Agriculture was India's most important industry and one to which Indians should devote their greatest energy because if there was an improvement in the standard of living of the peasantry industry would follow automatically. An increase in wages all over the country of one anna per day would mean an increase of purchasing power of £750 millions per annum. That increase would not be obtained among a few hundred thousand industrialists but among the hundreds of millions of agriculturalists. If the standard of living of agricultural labourers could be raised appreciably the whole industrial position would be improved and India would be a much greater market than was imagined at the moment. This was one of the things upon which stress should be laid.

He agreed that there should be co-operation. He had preached co-operation for many years. The old idea of the ordinary Indian was that England was exploiting him; that was the last thing she wanted to do. What British industrialists wanted to do was to co-operate in the Indian market in order to develop their industry on proper lines. If it was done haphazardly industries would be created which were uneconomical and then a strangulation of international trade would follow. If industry was developed on the right lines India would get the industries and produce the goods which were most suitable and most profitable.

He would be very sorry to see India proceeding to try to become entirely self-sufficient. This feeling had been brought on by the war and was bound to have undesirable results but if the two countries worked together on co-operative lines the speaker felt that there was a great hope for the future prosperity of Great Britain and India and for them both to contribute to the general prosperity of the world.

Mr N C MEHTA (late I.C.S. member of Indian delegation to the Commonwealth Relations Conference) said that Sir Thomas Ainscough had given an objective summary of the position. Sir Geoffrey Clarke had referred to an old superstition of economics which had now been exploded—namely the antithesis between agriculture and industry. To suggest that agriculture was opposed to industry was nonsense. If part of India was starving it was because agriculture had not been mechanized to the extent it should have been. There was agriculture of the highest order in the Presidency of Bombay where 10 000 to 15 000 acres of land were properly worked with modern equipment. Everyone who had had anything to do with the running of modern industry knew that it was far easier to put up a complicated industry and run it than to produce farm products and increase their output in competition with other countries.

The land in India had been used for centuries and in order to bring it up to the level of modern countries and to bring under the plough hundreds of thousands of acres which were lying fallow, it would be necessary to follow the methods of Soviet Russia. Every kind of farm machinery would be needed before India could be made self-sufficient in the matter of food. The Government of India was thinking of putting up factories for the production of artificial fertilizers but they would have to produce tractors, agricultural implements and increase livestock by artificial insemination. India was already short of draught cattle and if she was to pull her weight even in agriculture she would have to take to modern methods.

The problem really was that the economy of India had to be balanced and the old antithesis between agriculture and industry completely eliminated. The Bombay Plan was not ambitious enough. If the standards of 400 millions of people could be raised to a small extent it would have a great effect on the markets of countries like the United Kingdom. The reputation of the United Kingdom in the Indian markets had stood high for generations, and the only point on which he would differ from Sir Thomas was when he said that the future market for capital goods from this country would be largely non-recurring. That postulated the assumption that the standard of living in India would be static but it was obvious that with greater prosperity it must go up and the markets for capital goods must expand.

For instance the sugar industry of India had been built up during the last ten

years and after five years of war the demand for sugar had increased by 50 per cent., the cement industry must be duplicated without any further delay because the road mileage, storage pits and the number of houses to be built was stupendous. And so it went on from one industry to another. Sir Thomas had mentioned consumption goods, and these were found to be in great demand. In a nutshell, the picture of India was that it had emerged rapidly from the primary and secondary stage of industrialization but that did not mean that it had not entered the stage of producing services and consumption goods. India was a mixture of the modern and the mediæval and it would be some time before the balance was restored, but in the process of readjustment there was enormous scope for the co-operation of the two countries in the matter of technical personnel as well as in the matter of building up industry on the lines suggested by Sir Thomas. One had to cease to think of India as merely a market for exploitation either by the United Kingdom or any other country. The industrial and economic welfare of India was vitally important to this country not only because she would soon be an equal partner in the British Commonwealth, but for her own security. Certain industries such as shipbuilding would have to be put up in India even though they might affect certain sectional interests, and the moment that was done the whole outlook would be changed.

The whole of Sir Thomas's argument, as well as the Bombay Plan, was based on the assumption of India's independence, and that assumption must never be forgotten else it would be to the peril of both countries.

Asia was fortunate in that her three largest countries were single economic units—India, China and Russia—and did not suffer from economic barriers in the matter of trade over vast areas of territory. Sir Thomas referred to the fact that India had become a creditor nation. He had rightly and wisely suggested that that balance should be utilized to stimulate India's industries and to cement the existing economic and industrial relations between the two countries. It was not only the manner of liquidating liabilities which was important but also the time within which those liabilities were discharged and he hoped that in the near future some sort of procedure would be evolved so that whatever was due to India might be liquidated in such a fashion as to safeguard the economic interests of all countries concerned and to strengthen the industrial fabric of India which had suffered very gravely during the last five years.

Mr A. E. J. GAWLER (India Department Imperial Chemical Industries) said that the last speaker referred to the fact that if and when Indian industry became established the goods which were produced would be in direct competition with the goods produced by this country. Those who were concerned with trade with India had not any illusions on that score. The industrialization of India would be on a big scale and would take a long time, certainly twenty years and in considering its results the long-term aspect of British trade with India should be studied.

What British exporters asked themselves in those circumstances was whether by supplying capital goods and technique to India they were injuring themselves and eliminating their own exports. In other words, was the history of the piece-goods trade to be repeated? The speaker saw no reason why this should be so. Trade tended to increase as countries increased their industrialization but two conditions were necessary. First of all Indian industry must be developed on sound technical and economic lines, and secondly British exporters must be prepared for changes in the nature and quality of the goods they would have to supply. British industry could help in India's development, and the quality of British capital goods was first class while a great many firms followed up with technical service which enabled the plant to be kept and run in the best possible circumstances. He was afraid that India might be tempted to listen to other voices who were prepared to offer the tools without the knowledge and experience to enable them to be turned to the best account. One felt respect for and deferred to the understandable national pride which insisted on the principle that Indians should be in control of Indian industry, but there were other elements which were essential to success and among them were the fruits of experience and knowledge which Britain was able to provide.

He would stress this aspect of the matter because it seemed to him that that was

where a possible danger of conflict and disturbance of trade might arise. He would not go into the other aspect of the matter—namely the conditioning by British exporters of their goods and services to the changing requirements of the market—because the great majority of them were probably wide awake enough to do so and to profit advice such as had been given to them by Sir T. Ainscough.

Mr K. M. PANIKKAR (Prime Minister of Bikaner) said that the main problem of British trade in India was not so much the question as to whether any sectional industry in England would continue to thrive by the growth of Indian industry, but whether trade as a whole would find a market in India. The cotton industry might not find a market in India, but if the structure of British industry and trade could adjust itself to Indian conditions there was no reason why British trade should not only keep its position but increase. It was obvious that an industrialized country bought much more from another industrialized country than an unindustrialized country and any suspicion which this country might have that the increasing industrialization of India might lead to a loss of trade with India was unfounded.

The main problem in India was how to relieve the pressure on the land which its enormous population brought to bear upon it. India had a growth of 5 million people every year which meant an increasing pressure on the land and on any basis of calculation it would be found that this enormous population turning to agriculture could not be maintained by agriculture and that unless a greater proportion of people living on the land at present could be transferred into industry there was no hope for a better life in India. One of the main difficulties which Calcutta and Bengal had to face during the famine was the large number of people dependent but not actively working on land who could not be employed in the villages and wandered into the cities in search of employment and food. It was not the agriculturalist who was a burden on the land but the dependants and the transference of populations to other industries would make them economically more fruitful.

It was obvious that the Bombay Plan envisaged the development of industry as well as agriculture. The Report of the Central Planning Committee had shown what importance was attached to the development of agriculture because without a strong agriculture in India there would not be the expanding market on which to build up their industry as well as their higher standards of life. It seemed to be obvious that the great problem of industrial planning which both the Government and people of India had embarked upon called for a development of the relationship between this country and India on a different basis from that which we have been accustomed to so far—that of co-operation and mutual assistance.

There must be development of transport railways, waterworks schemes and other engineering schemes in which Great Britain was directly interested not merely as people providing capital goods. It must be remembered that capital goods once provided called for replacements and repairs and the structure of industry was so arranged that the person providing capital goods continued to have a hold on industry. The fear of exporting capital goods to India seemed to be greatly exaggerated and based on sectional interests.

Mr A. K. MUKERJI (Secretary Indian Federation of Labour, Delegate to the World Trade Union Conference) said that he represented a viewpoint somewhat different from that represented by the other speakers from his country but he wholeheartedly agreed with Sir Thomas that India offered vast opportunities for the growth and development of British export trade. Sir Thomas estimated and assessed the situation that the development in the industrial sphere would take place under the full control of industrialists as such; secondly he estimated and assessed the situation on the basis of an increased purchasing power of certain sections of the population, but the fact, other than those presented in some Government and other publications, proved that the standard of living of the artisans and vast sections of different groups of the middle class had not risen to the extent suggested by the Government of India or even that suggested by Sir Thomas.

Much had been said about balanced economy. He found himself very much in agreement with Sir Geoffrey Clarke. Balanced economy was a fact which had to be



achieved in India's economic life, but a solution to the advantage of India could not be had except on the basis of the organic contact of the last 300 years between India and Great Britain. Industrialization was supposed to be a panacea for the solution of the Indian problem, but it could not be until it was followed by a requisite increment in the purchasing power of the people.

The problem before the United Kingdom exporters had to be visualized from a slightly different angle, and it would not be out of place to mention that only two and a half years ago the London Chamber of Commerce Committee suggested that in order that the problems of any country after the war might be solved properly production had to be adjusted not to exchange but to use not merely to demand but to human demand and that demand must be made effective. These remarks did not need interpretation they were probably understood by those not connected with commerce and industry.

For a very simple reason the Bombay planners had three or four fundamental principles they wanted a form of economy which would rest on cheap labour and cheap raw material. That way the purchasing power of the people could not be increased. He would disabuse his hearers' minds about the vision of the Bombay planners, or the plans now being evolved by the Government of India under the inspiration of one of the principal authors of the Bombay Plan. The defect was that they did not visualize anything more than an accelerated development of heavy industries with State aid and protection. In regard to agriculture they aimed at what was called a modernizing and mechanization of agriculture. Agriculture was the basic and most important industry of India but the introduction of scientific methods would not solve the problem. There had been many commissions sitting on agriculture and their recommendations had not been implemented because while the development of agriculture quarrelled with the development of industry no development would ensue. There must be a rationalization and a reorganization of India's agrarian economy.

The examination of these questions should proceed not on the basis of Indian industrialists as such, the basis should be co-operation with India. There had risen and was arising a vast distinction between Indian industrialists and the Indian people who could offer a vast potential market much stronger and more important than the industrialists.

SIR THOMAS AINSCOUGH, in reply wished to make it clear that he was in whole hearted agreement with those speakers who had touched upon the need for scientific development of agriculture. Seventy per cent. of the population depended directly or indirectly upon agriculture and it was, therefore, fundamental. The reason he had not referred to it more specifically was that the contact of the British exporter with Indian agriculture was indirect. This country would benefit not so much directly by selling to the agriculturalists as indirectly by trading with the urban population. The increasing prosperity of the agriculturalists must inevitably result in the corresponding prosperity of the Indian townsman. At the present time it was only the Indian urban population which was in a position to afford the consumer goods which this country could supply. It was encouraging to note that the Government of India's reconstruction plans had the improvement of agriculture in the forefront of their programme.

He agreed with Mr. Panikkar that they had to paint on a large canvas as far as India was concerned. The interests of individual industries must not unduly influence the outlook. The ultimate solution was to keep abreast of developments both in the markets themselves, developments in Indian demand, and in research in this country. The future lay in our capitalization of brains of inherited skill and aptitude for fine production, and he hoped that he had succeeded in securing agreement that conditions in India seemed to be favourable for a realization of the end in view.

SIR HUBERT CARR, in expressing thanks to the lecturer and the chairman said that the lecturer had succeeded in stimulating thought and inquiry. The members greatly appreciated the chairman's courtesy in coming to preside over this important discussion.

## AN ORIENTAL CULTURAL CENTRE (IN LONDON)

BY FRED H. ANDREWS, O.B.E.

MAY I preface this paper by saying how greatly I appreciate the presence of Sir Neill Malcolm in the Chair? His active interest in matters related to Oriental culture is well known. I was therefore much uplifted when I heard that he had consented to preside.

The subject of my paper is not new. It has been for generations a recurrent theme of enquiries, discussions and deputations. The case for an adequate museum with proper facilities for study of Oriental ethnography has been repeatedly presented and urged with great eloquence by many eminent authorities who have long since realized the desirability of affording for the culture of India and contiguous lands those conditions for expert research and popular enlightenment which our position in relation to those regions unquestionably requires.

At the present time there is an important committee under the Chairmanship of Lord Zetland giving practical consideration to the whole matter and although the exact lines of their deliberations are unknown to me it is probable that many of the points in this paper coincide with those being considered by that committee. Nevertheless I am here merely expressing my own views after many years in India and Kashmir and half a century in close association with various aspects of Oriental ethnography as expressed by the arts of the painter, the sculptor, potter, architect and all the smaller domestic crafts.

It is a queer paradox that Britain, having greater interest and wider contact with the East than has any other country, seems perhaps the most indifferent to the desirability on all grounds of demonstrating the great achievements of those people, the influence of their culture upon ours and the extent of our indebtedness to them. Yet for Western people there has always been a certain attraction towards the mysterious East—vaguely regarded as the lands of spices, of fabulous jewels, vast wealth, gorgeous pageants, glittering temples and strange gods. Romantic poems, stories and plays, sometimes based upon reputed records of historical facts, have been written freely embellished with picturesque fantasy as compensation for imperfect knowledge. Travellers' tales have been the basis of many of these. There have been the adventurous who have sought the East for purposes of conquest or trade, or the desire for first hand knowledge of the mysteries. One naturally thinks of Alexander and of those greatest of commercial travellers—the Polo family and especially of Marco of that house who in his memoirs has given scholars so much material for speculation and learned disquisition. In later times our own traders, administrators and scholars, or mere globe-trotters who return confident that they know more about India after a few brief weeks of strenuous sight-seeing than do those who have spent the best years of a lifetime there.

Resulting from these many contacts there have reached this country numberless examples of Oriental craftsmanship in various forms and objects of artistic, historical, literary and scientific character, some deposited in official keeping and many treasured for a time more or less as souvenirs in private families, often ultimately to be discarded by a younger generation to whom they have no sort of appeal.

There have been, however, for many years, among those who have lived in India, scholarly persons who have prosecuted research along various lines—linguistics, numismatics, history and every aspect of archaeology—and through their labours great strides have been made in recovering most of India's past history. The appearance of early coins, sometimes with shopkeepers in the bazaars or found by despoilers of ancient buildings or by diggers in the fields, has helped notably towards the knowledge of dynasties whose existence in some cases was otherwise unknown. There was lively activity and enthusiasm among scholars over Indian numismatics more than a hundred years ago and about 1833 the East India Company financed a scheme for the systematic search for coins and their transfer to the company's museum. The discovery that ancient coins were often found in early Buddhist stupas

led to interest in the stupas themselves—their purpose, architectural features and sculptural enrichments—and this interest was extended to shrines, temples and all ancient buildings as well as to the sculptures adorning them. Fragments of sculpture were carried off—sometimes attractive heads only, lopped from their bodies, thereby often losing means for their identification and found their way to private houses or to museums where they were exhibited usually without indication of their provenance or of their place and significance on the ancient buildings from which they had been taken. And they have mostly continued to be so exhibited to the present time just disconnected fragments. Many curators having such fragments in their care deplore this condition of things, but are helpless in the absence of data by which it could be remedied. The sometimes well-meaning but deplorable vandalism of those days presented opportunities to enterprising native treasure-seekers, who found ready customers for their finds among the amateur collectors. Clever forgers produced quite passable reproductions of rare coins, and at least one ingenious individual caused considerable excitement among palaeographers by faking rubbings from spurious rock inscriptions in unknown characters, and even brought fragments of stone on which strange characters had been chiselled by himself. Thanks to the advice of a few trained archaeologists modern legislation has put an end as far as possible, to such unauthorized casual collecting of specimens.

As interest in the early history of Eastern culture grew, societies for systematic investigation and study of the many aspects of the subject were founded of which among the earliest was the Asiatic Society of Bengal (now Royal), founded by Sir William Jones in 1783. It has published a *Journal* since 1832. The Royal Asiatic Society was founded in 1823 with Henry Thomas Colebrooke as first Director and has published a regular *Journal* from 1834. In 1910 the India Society (now the Royal India Society) was founded and records its proceedings in *Indian Art and Letters*, and with the generous financial help of several Indian Princes has published many valuable books on Indian culture. The Royal Society of Arts formed an India Section in 1869, extended later to include Burma, and has continued to provide valuable lectures covering a wide range of subjects connected with India and Burma. These and other societies owe their inception and existence to private enterprise and the realization by the Founders and Members of the importance of the Orient in the scheme of world-wide culture nourished and developed by the mutual streams of influence flowing between East and West. In 1783 Colebrooke said: 'The Hindu is the most ancient nation of which we have valuable remains and has been surpassed by none in refinement and civilization.'

I have referred to the objects accumulated at the museum of the East India Company. The vicissitudes attending these collections are probably known to most of those present here but for the information of those who may not know the story I may be allowed to relate, briefly, the bare facts. The collections were originally exhibited at the house of the Company in Leadenhall Street but although given house-room they were probably regarded as rather embarrassing although doubtless welcome guests, entertained out of regard for their friends the donors, who were mainly connected with the Company in one way or another. This was at about the end of the eighteenth century. When the administration of Indian affairs was taken over by the Crown the collection was removed to Euse House, Whitehall, and later upon the completion of the India Office, to the top floor of the new building. Complaints of inaccessibility led to the removal, in 1874, of all but the Library to certain galleries at South Kensington as a temporary measure. About this time Lord Salisbury's efforts, to induce the Treasury to contribute towards the cost of a special building having failed, the collection was divided between the South Kensington Museum, the British Museum, the Bethnal Green Museum, Kew and the Royal School of Mines. This almost incredible perpetration sufficiently indicates the utter misapprehension at that time of the interrelation of all the activities of a community in the expression of its general culture. But having embarked upon this enterprise of dispersion, the desire for further dispersion was indicated. The already dismembered portion quartered at South Kensington was to be dissected and divided among the general exhibits in the museum in accordance with the system of grouping by material, that is to say, all the objects of one material were to be submerged in an

existing collection of things of the same material from all parts of the world and so could no longer function as links in the chain of cultural development of the land to which they belonged. This scheme, however, raised such strong protest from scholars and others that it was reluctantly withdrawn—but is, I suspect, still nursed and kept alive in certain quarters, for use should vigilance be relaxed.

Among those who strongly protested against dismemberment and dissolution and who took a leading part in actively opposing it was Lord Curzon. As the spokesman of a deputation to Mr. Runciman (afterwards Lord Runciman), President of the Board of Education on May 6, 1909, he spoke very strongly and to the point, not only opposing the breaking up of the collection at South Kensington, but urging the desirability of more and better exposition of Oriental culture. He said: 'Ought there not to be some place where the traveller and also the stay-at-home can form an idea of the character and mode of life and thought and of the artistic productions of India which will give him, not only the knowledge he may need at the moment, but some idea of the great capabilities of that country?' And further: 'Is it not a natural thing that the Indian, when he comes to England, should expect to find here some evidence of interest in his country and of the importance that is attached by Englishmen to things Indian?' It is of the highest importance alike for this country and for India that our people as a whole, whether specially artistic or not, should have before their eyes a striking evidence of the greatness, the importance and the inexhaustible interest of India. He goes on: 'Might we not have a museum which instead of being a jumble, an anachronism and a reproach, would be a living and growing thing, an organic factor in the scheme of development of our Empire?' Such a museum would have great capacities for expansion by legacies, gifts from Indian Potentates and others. Such a scheme would be received with immense satisfaction in every part of India itself.

On the same occasion Sir Richard Temple (the second Baronet), for many years Editor of *The Indian Antiquary*, said: 'We ought, in London, to show that we have an intellectual interest in it [the Indian Empire].' We do not think it right that the Indian student who comes to Europe should find that he cannot get a proper museum to study in at the headquarters of his own Empire, and that if he wants to study the ethnology of his own country he can find a much better museum in Berlin and at the Louvre in Paris. Neither Germany nor France has a direct interest in India, but our own interest is overwhelming. In these remarks by two fine scholars, great travellers and experienced administrators we get the first public expressions of a wider and fuller vision of and the need for a centre for the proper exposition of Oriental culture with suitable conditions for popular enlightenment and scholarly study and room for the chronological arrangement of exhibits with provision for inevitable expansion as the collections grow in volume and importance. As Professor Boyd Dawkins said at the deputation already referred to: 'the large collections scattered about in country houses which have been collected in old days by makers of India are of enormous extent and value, and would I believe gravitate into such a building.'

This was said thirty-five years ago. Since then there has been immense increase in material discovered largely due to the systematic research carried on by the Archaeological Survey of India, research which extends over an ever widening field and now includes, besides India and Ceylon, Burma, Chinese Turkestan, Gedrosia, all the territory of the Indus basin and contiguous thereto and much more. By the reconstitution of the Archaeological Survey through the efforts of Lord Curzon and its brilliant administration by Sir John Marshall, the appointment of expert coadjutors and the systematic training of Indian students in scientific methods of research instituted under Sir John Marshall's direction, the advances made have been very remarkable. The extent of territory indicated and now subject to the active investigations of the Archaeological Survey is, apart from other considerations, sufficient to amply justify the provision of a great museum in this, the centre of the Empire. But the geographical dimensions, extensive though they be, are small in comparison with their artistic, historical and archaeological content. And, mindful of the fact that Britain has been in administrative charge for many generations of more or less of these great tracts, with their hundreds of millions of people, their numberless lan-

languages and dialects, their varied culture and their past and present influence on the rest of the world, our obligation to worthily recognize all this in the form now again advanced is surely incontestable and, indeed, imperative to our own self-respect. While other countries publish by snappy articles in small popular periodicals the activities of their nationals in India conveying by implication that we British are doing worse than nothing, we by culpable complacency allow the fiction to pass as fact. It is, unfortunately true as a distinguished Indian scientist intimated recently, that there is as little general attention paid to India in this country as to the planet Mars.

One of the effects of the present war has been to bring together in this country thousands of men and women from the Dominions and from the countries of our Allies. It is characteristic of many of these latter candid friends that they believe they have better knowledge about us and our activities than we ourselves have, and one hears the fantastic ideas entertained by the majority about India, of its people and our administration of that land. Our own people being almost equally ignorant thanks to deficient education, are not only incapable of rebutting calumny but often enough are inclined to accept the distorted views so positively aired. The want of knowledge concerning progress made in education sanitation health, industry irrigation and in numberless other directions is deplorable and the ignorance of the complexities of race language caste, religion and social customs is not only profound, but by its extent affords scope for speculative assumptions unjust alike to Indians and British. Another effect of the war has been to take thousands of our intelligent and educated men and women to the East, many of whom would have their interest in those lands awakened, and in many cases would desire to supplement and extend that interest by available means on their return home.

In the near future with the extension of rapid travel distance will no longer divide East and West. Short visits will be practicable and will be encouraged and our Oriental Centre might be made an attractive and appropriate focal point for visitors, providing rooms for private consultations, for small committee meetings and such other facilities as the general idea may suggest. It should be a rendezvous for Orientals and Westerners, where friendly intercourse in congenial surroundings would promote knowledge and understanding of each other.

I think, or at least I hope that we have advanced beyond the conception of a museum as just an official curiosity shop or departmental store. In planning the modern museum now proposed old defects complicating the work of Keepers of the various departments must be avoided. While being attractive it must at the same time be educative by telling a connected story. By modern methods of construction extensive floor space can be provided uninterrupted by massive piers and cross-walls, leaving the disposition of partitions to be arranged to suit each scheme of display—partitions substantial but capable of being removed or readjusted as occasion should require.

The ordering of the collections should be mainly chronological with all objects of each period brought into proper relation with one another. In the case of easily portable articles this would be simple, although in respect of sculptures and mural paintings there is a certain complication. These are, unfortunately, mostly very fragmentary and in themselves not usually explanatory. For their proper understanding there should be, when possible, plaster casts of complementary portions and small built up models to make their significance clear. Accurate models made to scale, not too small, of the types of stupa, temple, mosque, mausoleum, etc., of each period and locality would be most instructive and popularly attractive and would contribute greatly to the enlightenment of people as to the importance of achievement of Oriental builders and other artists.

To provide means for further study for those who have been East, and to dispel some of the obscurity and ignorance to which I have already referred, I propose that it should be an important part of the museum's functions to issue through its Publications Department a comprehensive series of inexpensive pamphlets dealing concisely and authoritatively not only with Oriental archaeology, art and crafts, but with progress in all directions as a result of British administration the efforts of Chiefs of States, and the work of enlightened members of all communities in developing

the potentialities and promoting the welfare of their land and its people. There would be in addition more elaborate volumes on art and archaeology, which should be issued periodically. All the pamphlets and larger works might be written or compiled by the museum in collaboration with the several Oriental Societies, thus combining the services of the most competent persons. I would further have brief explanatory leaflets available, free on request, in all galleries, to help the casual visitor to understand the exhibits. A good deal of this is, I know, already being done by some of our museums but it could and should be considerably extended in the case of the Oriental museum. There has been brought to my notice recently an admirable little brochure issued by a certain Institute in a continental State giving advice to those proceeding to a Dependency of that State embodying some of the matter I have mentioned and, in addition indicating the value of observation the kind of objects to which observation should be directed and the systematic recording of impressions to render them helpful in the study of art, archaeology, history and general culture of the people. The advantages of such a pamphlet to those destined for service in the East is too obvious to need emphasis. Equipped with such advice adjustment to new conditions on actual contact would be facilitated and unconscious indiscretions avoided. It is the kind of work that could be most successfully compiled by the museum in collaboration with our Oriental societies.

The existence of an Oriental museum in London worthy of this country and of India and related territories would attract to itself increased accessions from many quarters. The large and scattered collections in present galleries might with advantage be assembled here often to the much needed relief of those galleries. Private collections would find appropriate sanctuary and expert interpretation and by bequest would escape the misfortune and ignominy of careless dispersal. The Archaeological Survey of India would be encouraged to contribute from its abundance of past and current acquisitions. Scholars, students and laymen of all countries would be attracted by the comprehensiveness and scientific disposition of exhibits, efficient library and general amenities for study. Lecturers would find ideal conditions for deliveries, a library of lantern slides from which to select illustrations and a photographic department ready to provide special slides when needed.

It would be premature to discuss details now. This would be for the executive body after sanction of the general scheme. Doubtless the educative value of the cinema would be considered with its potentialities for making known the Indian and Burmese epics, drama, dancing, music in addition to stories of travel and adventure, village life, architecture, industries and the exhaustless wealth of historical and other matter at present an unopened book to the great majority of people of this country. Periodical exhibitions could be arranged and there would be a permanent picture gallery in which prints and drawings would form an important part in the historical arrangement. Very considerable contributions to this section would undoubtedly come from private collections.

The museum, then, as I conceive it, should not be just an *ajazb ghar*; it should, as I have indicated, cover a wider field of popular instruction than has perhaps hitherto been considered quite compatible with traditional dignity and self-respect. It should be attractive, stimulating and above all enlightening and should include every aspect of Oriental culture. The Governing Body or Directorate in its constitution should be representative of all the States and territories and such various interests relating thereto as should come within the purview of its charter.

The wider purpose of this paper, as indicated by its title, is to advocate the establishing of an Oriental Cultural Centre and this could be done by assembling in one locality the several learned societies concerned with Eastern studies where, in the museum, besides the concrete examples of Oriental Culture, there would be committee rooms, halls and lecture theatre available on the spot. The societies and the School of Oriental and African Studies are in being, and of course have their own administrations. I have therefore dwelt more particularly upon the importance of the formation of a museum for which so many strong appeals have been made by eminent scholars and statesmen during the last half-century. Experience has taught many of us that in this country the period of incubation required to bring to life a project of acknowledged importance is considerable, and perhaps for a scheme of

the importance of this the period is not excessive as things go. But having regard for the rapidly growing recognition of the relationship between the culture of the East and that of the West, and the increasing significance of the East in world development, the practical realization of the museum should be no longer delayed. Our responsible position in relation to the East, no less than the desirability of the orderly concentration in one building of the great quantity of valuable material available for the intelligent study of Oriental Culture, demands this.

It may seem that in this imperfect outline I have somewhat exceeded the range of the orthodox limits of museum prescription, but we are scrambling through a period when revision or scrapping of traditional convictions and time-honoured practices is required of us in the sacred name of Progress. Although there may be much to regret in such changes there are sometimes compensatory features. In the present case it is not proposed that anything in the traditional usages which may seem desirable to the internal administration of the museum should be disturbed but that the educational and social functions should be expanded as widely as possible compatible with discretion, dignity and well being.

I visualize the creation architecturally of a dignified group of buildings perhaps in the form of a quadrangle, with the museum by its need for great floor and wall space, as the central component, with flanking wings to accommodate the societies each to have its own entrance and of course to retain its complete independence of administration and its prestige, and to have the advantages of the use of the museum lecture halls, theatre and cinema. There is such a grouping and I believe a successful one, at Burlington House. If the site be where most desirable in Bloomsbury, the School of Oriental and African Studies would be a near neighbour.

A feature that would add dignity and charm and which would appeal especially to the aesthetic sense of most of our Oriental friends is a suitably designed garden as the setting for the group. But this consideration should not prejudice the selection of the site. There are however in Bloomsbury some once fine squares now disfigured by the scars of war claiming on all grounds restoration and rehabilitation. What could be more happy than the placing of our group of buildings at one of these squares renewing its attractions in rejuvenated and more lively garb and securing the much-desired open space while giving to the buildings just that additional grace which only a fine garden can give?

And so our Oriental Cultural Centre in its aims and by its architectural importance, should be an impressive symbol and a practical expression of the bonds that unite East and West and a potent agent for strengthening those ties by promoting friendly intercourse and mutual appreciation. A creation in all respects befitting the greatness of the Empire and worthy of the Empire's Capital City.

N.B.—The Discussion on this paper will be printed in the July issue of THE ASIATIC REVIEW.

*(End of the Proceedings of the East India Association)*

## A VISION OF THE NEW INDIA

BY GEOFFREY TYSON, C.I.E.

(Editor of *Capital*)

PERHAPS because there are so many rival architects preparing the plans it is a little difficult to obtain anything like a clear vision of the India of the future. But, by way of beginning, it may be said that unlike Europe, planning in this country is not synonymous with reconstruction. With the exception of Bengal's war-shattered rural economy, there is really no reconstruction problem in the literal meaning of the word. Planning, as India understands it, means a large-scale organized development of her industries, agriculture and transportation in the post-war era as well as the institution of certain rudimentary social services and reforms mainly connected with education.

and public hygiene. So far as industry and transport are concerned, the planner starts with an already well-developed and fairly modern system, agriculture, with its still primitive methods of production and distribution, presents an entirely different set of problems and a wider field of activity which is largely independent of extraneous competitive forces, and which could be made to yield a quick return in terms of national well-being. But the national preference, as expressed on the platform and in the press, is heavily weighted in favour of rapid industrial expansion. This is understandable as one of several manifestations of a new national consciousness, but it tends to obscure the real issues before the India of tomorrow and it means that the genuine enthusiast for rural reforms whose message is indisputably urgent, gets a less sympathetic hearing than he should.

Of the several plans that have been widely publicized, the Bombay Fifteen Year Plan holds the field amongst the privately composed symposiums. It is now a good deal outmoded, and it is perhaps significant that the promised further instalments which were to deal with such matters as its financial implications have not yet been forthcoming. But to a large extent it still dominates popular imagination in a way that the Peoples Plan of Mr. M. N. Roy and the indefatigable pamphleteering of such private parties as Sir M. Visveswaraya do not. One hardly ever hears a reference nowadays to the unfinished thesis of the National Planning Committee of Congress which, in its initial stages at least, was intended to be a much bigger undertaking than any of its predecessors. The Government of India's own ideas have begun to find shape and content with the creation of a Department of Development and Planning of which the first Member-in-Charge is Sir Ardeshr Dalal, a former Indian Civil Servant turned businessman who has now returned to high office in the Imperial Secretariat. Before joining the Viceroy's Executive Council Sir Ardeshr was himself a signatory to the Bombay Plan and his former industrial affiliations are such as to inspire public confidence in the efficacy of his newly created Department. The Reconstruction Committee of the Viceroy's Executive Council has recently issued an admirably balanced second report on planning and I refer to this in some detail below. But before doing so it might be as well to devote a few sentences to considering how the Bombay scheme looks on the morning after what we may fairly describe as a night devoted to an orgy of planning. For much of what may be said for or against it applies with equal force to other documents of similar non-official authorship. Its objectives and its purpose are unexceptionable. Neither Briton nor Indian can gainsay the desirability of bringing about a doubling of the present *per capita* income of India within fifteen years. Nor if it could be proved to be also technically possible, would the expenditure of ten thousand crores of rupees seem too large a sum in order to increase the money yield from agriculture 130 per cent or industrial income 500 per cent or that which derives from services 200 per cent. For it is in these proportions that the Bombay Plan proposes to bring about a three fold increase in India's national dividend.

It is I think, a fair criticism of the Plan that its authors have apparently gauged it sufficient to lay down a number of assumptions and objectives estimable as the latter may be without telling us except in the most general terms how we are to reach these objectives. A plan of this kind can be but little more than an acceptable list of aspirations, and with such obvious gaps in the vital chain of argument would hardly pass muster as a plan in say Russia for whose achievements in the creation of a planned economy the authors imply a genuine admiration. Quite apart from the unanswered questions in the fields of industrial and agricultural technology, the Bombay Plan reveals certain flaws in that department in which I personally would have expected its authors to be at the top of their form and their conclusions to be relatively unassailable—namely, in its financial implications and conclusions.

Money they say by way of introduction is used throughout as a measuring rod only, and in order to keep the measure uniform we have based all money figures on the rupee at approximately the average price level which prevailed during the period 1931-39. The assumption of a 1931-39 price level may be all right as the starting point of an interesting exercise in economic theory, but it is not a good enough beginning for a plan that is seriously put forward as a new charter of prosperity for one-fifth of the world's population. The fact is that if the Bombay Plan



was implemented at 1945 prices it might well cost Rs. 15,000 crores or Rs. 20,000 crores, instead of the Rs. 10,000 crores on which it is based. Of the Rs. 10,000 crores, rather more than one-third is to come from created money—a frankly inflationary conception, which comes rather oddly from a body of men some of whom have been highly critical of the inflationary trends of the Government of India's war finance. But that is not the fundamental objection to this part of the scheme. The real question is whether after Japan has been beaten India will be able to stand further currency inflation no matter how expertly or by whom applied. A national and every other kind of Government will be subject to precisely the same kind of monetary influences and in the event of anything going awry it would have been interesting to know how the Bombay planners would proceed. Would they create more money, or would they cut down the Plan? The question is neither asked nor answered in their own exposition of the subject but it is highly relevant in view of the fact that the Plan is designed to cover fifteen post-war years, a period in which much might happen that none of us can now foresee or foretell. This is but one of several criticisms that might be made about the Plan's financial implications, and the authors would probably now agree that it was a mistake to treat finance as subordinate to other aspects of their scheme. But when these and every other criticism of the Bombay Plan has been made and weighed we have as the leader of the European Party Sir Henry Richardson declared in the Central Legislative Assembly the other day to concede that the great merit of the Plan was that it set the fashion and the pace for planning. It focused public attention on pressing post-war needs and it served as a rallying point for progressive opinion of all kinds. To that extent it had done nothing but good. Sir Henry was intervening in a debate on a Muslim League resolution instructing Government to have nothing to do with the Bombay Plan which was stigmatized as having been prepared by the capitalists of India. In the result the Assembly decided to set up a committee of its own members to examine all the plans for industrial, agricultural and social development now before the country and to report to the House in due course. In so doing the Legislature was a true reflex of a somewhat bewildered public opinion in the country but as plans for India's future are many and varied the fifteen M.L.A.s who are to compose the committee of the Assembly are likely to take a long time over their task. What is now wanted above everything else is examination at a high technical and expert level. And that is where the new Department of Planning and Development comes into the picture.

The Department is still in the process of finding its real place in the scheme of things. Its functions are almost wholly planning and co-ordination and it is executive over only a very small field. But ultimately when reconstruction gets into its stride it will possess, and probably exercise wide powers of approval or veto. To the extent that it can initiate and prohibit it will play a vital rôle in shaping economic policy from now onwards. It is already the focal point of research and discussion in the country and other Departments which commenced thinking post-war a year or eighteen months or two years ago have already begun to off-load further consideration of some of their development schemes and problems on to the new organization. Inside Government itself it works in the closest touch with the older Reconstruction Committee of His Excellency the Viceroy's Executive Council whilst outside it maintains contact with the various non-official Policy Committees which Government have created to advise them on post-war problems as well as with the Provincial Governments and the galaxy of consultative committees which they in their turn have created. The Reconstruction Committee of Council have recently issued a Second Report on Reconstruction Planning and as might be expected it brings to the subject of planning a measure of authority and realism that is absent from the hypotheses in which many well-intentioned private essays abound. This report is designed to provide guidance to the Departments at the Centre, as well as to the Provinces on the lines on which they should proceed no less than to invite the expression of public opinion and to enlist public support. It proceeds on the assumption that whatever form of government India may enjoy in the future, planning cannot, and should not, wait on the settlement of constitutional matters.

One of the fundamental principles of the Plan propounded in this Second Report

of the Reconstruction Committee of Council is *regionalisation*, which ignores ultimate political affinities in favour of benefiting different parts of the country in as equal a measure as is compatible with the physical features and natural resources of each part. For the moment, therefore, the most important master plan eschews the inhibitions of Hindustan or Pakistan and in parenthesis it may be hoped that a completely non-party programme of development may do something to demonstrate the essential economic unity of a country that shows no signs of healing its political fissures. It is also laid down as a basic principle that the requisite leadership in industrial, agricultural and social planning must devolve upon Government itself, though some will beg leave to doubt whether this amounts to a demand from practically all classes of the population for more active intervention and more effective use of existing powers. As yet the full picture of the future is not clearly discernible in every detail but the report declares that the broad intention is to have a long term all India plan drawn up on general lines with a more detailed phased plan for the first five years. While the long term plan might be based generally on a period of fifteen years it will be necessary for different subjects to cover different periods. The Central Advisory Board's Plan for education for instance is a forty year plan; the Plan for the development of roads and road transport ten years; that tentatively proposed for agriculture aims at doubling the income from agriculture within a period of fifteen years at a cost of Rs. 1,000 crores. In the case of industries it has not yet been possible to formulate even a preliminary plan in the absence of information which has been repeatedly called for from industrialists. A note on finance points out that the finances necessary for the development of industries during the first five years are expected to be adequate for expansion to the largest extent that is feasible; the limiting factors being the availability of the necessary technical personnel and capital equipment, as well as the willingness of the people to submit to the necessary controls and taxation. If all factors are favourable the conclusion is that the pace of development of industries should far exceed that of agriculture.

Both short and long term planning work towards the same objectives—viz. to raise the standard of living of the people as a whole, to ensure employment for all and to achieve a more equitable distribution of the wealth that is produced. The Reconstruction Committee of Council believe that the measures they recommend will achieve all these and they emphasize that both short and long range plans should be so regulated as to keep in line with one another. Plans of a short term nature which may properly be termed reconstruction include the following: The re-settlement and re-employment of defence service personnel and of labour displaced from war industry, military works, etc.; the orderly disposal of surplus military stores and equipment, land and buildings; the conversion of industry from war to peace and the removal or adjustment of controls to suit peace conditions. As it is the basis of industrial and agricultural development the report gives priority amongst the longer term or development plans to the question of electric power. Other long range targets are the development of industry for the manufacture of both capital and consumer goods and the encouragement of small-scale and cottage industries, road communications and transport services, improvement of agriculture and education and health services and the promotion generally of better social conditions. As much of India's essential backwardness is to be found in her seven hundred thousand villages the report does well to emphasize that the most serious obstacle to advancement is the absence of any real leadership and self help in the villages themselves. It observes many of the measures essential to rural development are quite simple and require comparatively little money but great enthusiasm, effort and co-operation. How this may be obtained is the subject of a number of detailed suggestions. The question is posed whether it is desirable to spread efforts at rural development and reform all over a Province or whether it may not be preferable to concentrate picked staff in certain areas, and the report quotes the imaginative methods adopted by the Tennessee Valley Authority in the U.S.A. and the shock troops tactics in the U.S.S.R. Obviously the technique employed will differ from one Province to another and what may be found good for the Punjab will in all probability, be quite unsuitable for Orissa.

The most important factor in Indian life today, if only because it is common

operative, is the steady increase in population. The 400 million of Indians in India are increasing at the rate of 11 to 15 per cent every ten years, and though it is possible that the birthrate may eventually decline, the report considers that this is likely to be offset by an improvement in the survival rate owing to the better nutrition, education in hygiene, medical and public health measures which are envisaged as part of Government's long-term planning. It is unlikely that even now, under the influence of war, there are more than 3½ million Indians employed in organized industry. This figure does not, of course include those who are working in village industries, small businesses or undertakings employing casual and unskilled labour. But everything points to increasing pressure on the land, despite the fact that the present agricultural population in most parts of the country is too great for the available land. There is thus an urgent demand for new land, or the irrigation of existing land though the report notes that most of the productive irrigation schemes have now been carried out. For post war irrigation schemes, for which there is still some room, it is considered that a lower return will have to suffice, and that there is scope for the better utilization of sub-soil water by means of tube wells and pumps. To deal with these matters and the questions of drainage reclamation erosion, etc the creation of Land Development bodies is advocated for the problem of preventing millions of acres continuing to go out of cultivation is regarded as being beyond the scope of existing Agricultural Forestry and Irrigation Services. For all forms of long term development and planning, whether industrial or agricultural it is recognized that neither present administrative methods, which have developed over long periods of years, nor the general purpose officer of government may be wholly suitable. It looks as though the specialist who for too long has had to play a subordinate rôle in the Indian administration is at last going to come into his own. The above is a very brief and inadequate summary of Government's contemplated attack upon the problems of the countryside. What of urban conditions?

Urban progress is very largely bound up with industrial development, and I fear that it is in respect of the latter that the report will attract most criticism. For industry itself the declared objective is intensive development, and as the development of industries is at present a Provincial subject, legislation on a Central basis for post-war planning is foreshadowed. Admitting that the general trend of modern thought is in favour of greater control by the State over industries so that the profit motive is harnessed to social needs the Reconstruction Committee of Council lays it down that generally speaking, except where national interests require it, industries are at present best left to competitive capitalist enterprise the State exercising such control as to see that they are operated for the public benefit after providing a reasonable return on savings and enterprise. Where industries are left in private hands Government control should interfere as little as possible with the actual management so as to provide free scope to efficiency. There should always however be sufficient control over all industries to ensure that labour is not exploited and receives fair wages and decent conditions of living. This is an important clarification of basic policy and will not please everybody particularly certain enthusiastic planners in the Provinces. The report admits the prevailing shortage of qualified Indians to fill technical and managerial posts, and pleads for a greater realization of the advantages of a career in industry.

The theme is familiar but this recognition of an overall shortage of qualified Indian personnel together with the later admission that it may be necessary to obtain a quota for training Indians at British universities, in view of the very large influx of students the latter expect after the war, are difficult to reconcile with the somewhat oblique fashion in which the necessity of extraneous technical assistance is admitted, and the terms upon which it may be accepted. This important part of the report reads as follows

Where Government decides to enlist the assistance of firms from overseas to develop industries of a highly technical kind, or those which depend on patents the following principles may be observed

In such cases the participation of outside interests may if possible, be confined to the provision of technical assistance and of machinery and experts, the

firm being remunerated for services rendered and by royalties on patents. In cases where participation in capital is required care should be taken to see that the capital is issued in India, that the majority of the capital, as well as the directorate, is Indian, and final control over policy rests in Indian hands. In cases where it is necessary to entrust the management of such industries to outside firms provision should be made for the training of Indians in all the technical processes and the ultimate transfer of control to Indian management.

It is necessary here to utter a warning against embarking on projects involving complicated processes without the assurance of really expert and reliable technical assistance or of entering into arrangements for the participation of foreign firms of doubtful integrity. In these matters the advice and assistance of Government agencies may be of especial value to industrialists.

It has more than once been declared by the Secretary of State for India and other responsible and highly placed spokesmen, that neither the Government nor the people of Britain desire to stand in the way of the fullest possible development of which Indian industry is capable. The terms upon which India now declares herself prepared to accept outside assistance are not likely to encourage the hope that extraneous aid will be readily forthcoming unless these are modified from one individual case to another. For it is precisely in those industries of a highly technical kind and dependent upon patents, to use the formula employed in the report that British American and other entrepreneurs are in a position to demand more generous treatment than is now envisaged. In the ultimate resort the industrialization of India can only be accomplished by Indians themselves but industry is becoming increasingly international in character and organization (both as to capital and technique) and it is certain that prohibitions which have no other basis than pure nationalism will retard the very progress which the most ardent nationalist desires to achieve.

The report reiterates the elementary but not universally accepted principle that capital even though in private hands, is a national asset and must be used to the best public advantage, whilst it recognizes that there are certain limiting factors in the situation of which finance is not the least. For this reason when both the revenue and capital resources of the Centre are likely to be unequal to the demands upon them it will be essential that such financial grants as are made go to such parties or administrators as are judged capable of utilizing them to good advantage. To the writer it seems unlikely that Provincial administrations will have any money to spare for the promotion of post war projects and the responsibility for financial disbursement and control will therefore fall almost wholly upon the Government of India. We may expect the Finance Member Sir Jeremy Raisman to have something to say on this subject when he introduces his 1945-46 Budget in the Central Assembly in February. Meanwhile, a further limiting factor is the danger of permitting projects that are obviously post war in character to compete for labour materials and other commodities which are already in short supply. This would merely result in further aggravation of an already ugly inflationary situation and it seems to me almost certain that the custodians of India's finances would strongly resist any premature attempt to launch a planning and development programme on the country until some of the more acute current shortages are relieved.

On the subject of India's overseas trade during a régime of planning the report leaves a good deal unsaid and this is one of the least satisfactory parts of a document which is otherwise mostly full of sound common sense. Trade commerce and industry are inextricably bound up with one another and a deliberate policy of industrialization implies a certain measure of control over the other two. The report admits that if industrialization is to be one of the major items of economic policy a steep increase in India's import trade is inevitable in the post war era. One could wish that this fact was more generally appreciated particularly in those quarters which have already begun to agitate for a vigorous protectionist régime immediately hostilities cease. Though India's ability to pay for imports has been greatly strengthened by the growing accumulation of sterling balances and the repatriation of external debt, it is emphasized that the financing of foreign purchases will still entail the maintenance of the export trade at the highest possible level that international trade

is not unilateral, and no country can lay down a commercial policy in isolation from others. The authors of the report consider that though the final determination of a post-war trade and commercial policy for India must wait on certain decisions by the United Nations, an endeavour should be made to decide provisionally what policy is best suited to Indian conditions and interests. To this end they declare that as far as possible the export of raw materials should be replaced by the export of semi-finished or fully manufactured goods. Increased attention should also be paid to the development of Eastern markets and standards of quality should be strictly enforced. These are excellent general principles, but there would appear to be little chance of their implementation unless it be through the medium of larger export units for which the report pleads. Government promises its encouragement for these latter bodies but who is to take the initiative in their formation? The fact is that over a large range of exports India's export trade is already pretty well organized.

The subject of import policy is dealt with in half a dozen lines which stress the desirability of avoiding undue dependence on particular import markets—a sentiment which seems of somewhat dubious value in view of the hard facts of international trade. When we come to that section of the report which deals with import duties it is admitted that the revenue tariff represents a policy which has stood the test of time and it is stated that protective duties will continue to serve the best interests of the country. The view that the Tariff Board should be resuscitated and on a permanent basis is an indication that in the future India will have more and not less tariff protection. Trade treaties, it is declared, should be judged in the light of progressive policy actuated by an anxiety to enter into trade agreements whenever there appears a prospect of commercial advantage being gained for India. This is unexceptionable as a formula. So is the desire to participate in a multilateral convention provided our vital interests are safeguarded. But one doubts whether the pursuit of a number of bilateral agreements can be comfortably fitted into a multilateral convention or whether either is possible until India has really decided what constitutes her vital interests. The fact is that, like many other countries, India's intentions in this respect must remain somewhat hazy and nebulous until the main outlines of post-war trade have revealed themselves a good deal more clearly.

Lack of space precludes me from writing more on the subject of the Government of India's own plans as embodied in this Second Report of the Reconstruction Committee of Council. I have done less than justice to a document of absorbing interest but by the time these lines appear in print its full text may be available to readers in the United Kingdom. One of its outstanding qualities is that it brings the whole subject down to earth. In contrast to much of the high falutin' stuff that has previously passed for planning the reader feels a sense of relief after a study of this report, for choosing the middle way of realism it avoids alike the excesses of the uninstructed super-optimist planner on the one hand and the dyed-in-the-wool individualist on the other. Most of the targets which it sets forth would appear to be realizable—given the will to achieve them. Fifteen years of planned effort of the kind the report contemplates would make a wonderful difference to the face of India. Though many of India's fundamental problems would remain, the standards of life would have risen, the purchasing power of the people would have increased and employment been brought within the reach of all those who could prove their title to it.

## BANQUET IN HONOUR OF H.E. THE VICEROY AND VISCOUNTESS WAVELL

### H.E.H. THE NIZAM'S SPEECH ON THE INDIAN WAR EFFORT

At the banquet in honour of H.E. the Viceroy and Viscountess Wavell during their visit to Hyderabad H.E.H. the Nizam gave a review of the State's contribution to the war effort which included the following passages:

In the defence of liberty the Allied Nations have become involved in one of the most terrible wars in history. I thank God that after some vicissitudes of fortune in the early days of war victory has again crowned the allied arms, and the enemy hordes both in the East and in the West are being hurled back in defeat and confusion, thus liberating a large part of Europe and also saving India from the threat of invasion. The General who first stopped the destructive tide of German onslaught on African soil was no one else than our honoured guest of this evening Lord Wavell. It is gratifying to know that the strong shield with which Britain and her allies have protected India from the horrors of war is in no small measure made up of the gallant sons of India herself who have acquitted themselves so nobly and courageously in the different theatres of war.

I can speak with pride of the expansion of my army which has been almost doubled since the outbreak of the war and the modernization of all units. There are now eight units serving under the Crown of which several have been in action against the enemy; all except three of these units are serving outside India and another is shortly to go overseas. Of the units serving in the Dominions the most important are the three training centres for artillery mechanized cavalry and infantry. All three are organized and equipped on the same up-to-date lines as the similar training centres of the Indian Army. Nor have we omitted to take thought for the resettlement of these soldiers in civil life after the war. Rs. 10 lakhs have been provided in the current budget for this purpose and further sums will be made available in subsequent years as the Resettlement Committee extend their plans.

My private contributions to the war amounted to £60,000 for equipping Fighter Air Squadron and Rs. 7 lakhs for the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund. Direct and indirect war expenditure and contributions by my Government amount to Rs. 6 crores 31 lakhs. My Government did not accept the Grant in Aid offered by the Government of India to my State to meet the increased expenditure on my troops serving in various theatres of war outside Hyderabad as I felt, as a Faithful Ally, that my dominions should meet the whole of this additional expenditure. My Government also donated nearly Rs. 52½ lakhs to the British Air Ministry and the British Admiralty for the Hyderabad R.A.F. squadrons and for the purchase of a corvette named *Hyderabad* and presented the Basset trawler H.M.I.S. *Berar* to the Royal Indian Navy.

The Industrial resources of the State were mobilized and as a result of our representation at the Eastern Group Conference—so wisely convened through the foresight of your predecessor—new industries and workshops were created to supply some of those essential requirements which were so desperately needed. All these resources were freely placed at the disposal of the Supply and Army Departments for war purposes. The technical educational and other institutions of my dominions were also used unreservedly for war service and a large number of technicians have been trained. A number of young men have also been trained for Civil War Reserve Corps.

The State Railway has played a prominent part in handling heavy military traffic and the road services have effectively met the transport of food grains to rail heads and are now carrying as many as 18 million passengers a year. The air services organization was thrown over to the maintenance of aircraft for the training of pilots in the early days of the war. An important aerodrome was also constructed. The railway workshops have manufactured over a million intricate armament parts, whilst a special contribution at our expense has been the training of some 5,500 driver mechanics for the Indian Army and 2,000 ground engineers and mechanics. In addition for about eighteen months 150 vehicles and instructors were provided every day for the training of Army drivers. Ready assistance was given in the dark days of 1941-42 to Army divisions passing through by the manufacture of essentials and the supply of technical trainees so that we may claim that Hyderabad had given of its best in material and men.

My Public Works Department constructed several aerodromes and other military buildings in different parts of the dominions for the Indian Defence Services, costing more than a crore of rupees and the Public Works Department workshops executed war work of the total value of about Rs. 14 lakhs.

Despite the war the last few years have been years of prosperity and the annual income of the State has risen from 9 to nearly 17 crores of rupees. This has enabled large sums of money to be allotted for nation-building activities, such as expansion of higher, technical and general education an aboriginal education scheme, improvement in public health and medical facilities and for large sums to be kept in reserve for post war requirements. A Central Industrial Research Laboratory and a College of Agriculture are being set up. In the Osmania University, Departments of Technical Chemistry Geography and Commerce have been opened, and provision has been made for opening a Department of Mining Engineering and for providing new buildings for the Women's College. Under a five-year plan, free primary education is being provided in every village with 1,000 and more inhabitants. We, like the rest of India, have had our economic difficulties. The most serious of these has been the food question. My Government, in spite of its own grave shortage of rice caused by the cessation of imports from abroad, and despite acute scarcity in the Karnatak districts and poor harvests generally, has co-operated with the rest of India in this vital matter as fully as we could, considering our own difficulties. Hyderabad City and suburbs have been rationed since last May, Warangal City since September, and several other towns have since been or will shortly be rationed. We have by a compulsory grain levy system and wide-scale Government grain purchases advanced far towards complete Government control of wholesale grain dealings. By legislation and propaganda we have in this year's kharif harvest reduced the cotton area by 60 per cent. The total expenditure on the Grow More Food Campaign up to the end of the current year is estimated at Rs. 117 lakhs. My Government is taking every possible step to increase production of food and to ensure its proper distribution. Unless unseasonable conditions defeat our expectations we hope to be able to contribute to help other less fortunate parts of India.

My Government some time ago set up a Post War Planning Committee and Secretariat which have made considerable progress in planning future economic, industrial, agricultural, public health and general development. Hyderabad looks forward to an era of all-round progress. While we intend to co-operate in measures for the ordered and planned economic development of India I believe that I can confidently rely on Your Excellency's Government in the same spirit to give Hyderabad all help necessary for the successful execution of her plans.

While the attention of my Government has been focused mainly on the war effort, they have meanwhile been steadily at work on the implementing of the scheme of constitutional reforms which I announced in 1939. The keynote of these reforms is my intention to make provision for the more effective association of the different interests in my dominions in my Government. Accordingly District Conferences have already been inaugurated, Statutory Advisory Committees have been set up consisting of an equal number of officials and non-officials to advise my Government on agricultural development, education, finance, industrial development, public health, religious affairs and labour. I have also given my assent to certain constitutional laws or Aims, designed to establish throughout my dominions a net work of local bodies, great and small, with non-official majorities. In pursuance of these Aims my Government has already brought into being District Boards for fifteen districts, some Jagir Boards and large numbers of Municipal Committees and Town Committees and several Village Panchayats. The laws and rules for proposed reformed legislature are under active preparation. All these measures will I trust do much to fulfil my desire that the closer association thus effected between my Government, my officers and my people will bring out still more the real identity of interests which exists between them.

## PLANNING IN THE INDIAN STATES

(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BARODA)

BY M H SHAH, M A

PLANNING has commanded the attention of all Governments—of British Indian Provinces as well as of major Indian States. We are looking ahead to times when the present gruesome hostilities will have stopped and the nations will be free to take up the activities of increasing the happiness and welfare of human beings. It is necessary to plan in advance for this if we are not to find ourselves aimlessly drifting when those times come.

### PLANNING IN INDIA

The planning problem in India is a little peculiar as compared to the other countries which have to plan for the rejuvenation of their shattered national life and property. India so far, has not been a victim of any such wide destruction. However, India has been proverbially poor and anything that would raise the national income and the standard of life has been eagerly sought after. Therefore planning in India will be much concerned with increasing the national income and providing for its better distribution.

### THE INDIAN STATE

Problems of planning in Indian States are not very different from those in the British Indian Provinces. In fact, they are in some cases simpler. Mysore with its network of industries has not much to plan in that direction. Baroda with its long established comprehensive educational structure and other social services has little scope for expansion in that direction. However, if we put aside the case of a few big States out of the total of about six hundred Indian States planning is bound to be beyond the reach of the majority of them. It is surprising that this point has not received the serious consideration of those who are concerned. Unless some zonal system is evolved or the Merger Scheme is accelerated there seems to be no hope for planning in these small States. Further it is very necessary to co-ordinate planning activities in Indian States with those in the Provinces and at the Centre. The States, if they isolate their plans, can hardly achieve any substantial results or launch any big schemes successfully. Interwoven as the Provinces and the States are it is necessary that the plans should also be interlinked.

Finally one very important problem of planning in Indian States is the problem of finance. It appears that the British Indian Provinces are to meet their planning finance in two ways from subventions given by the Central Government and from taxes to be levied. The States are at a disadvantage in both these respects. According to Sir Ardeshr Dalal there are constitutional difficulties which obviously make it impossible for an Indian State to be treated on the same footing as a British Indian Province in the matter of subventions for planning. Whatever these difficulties the case for subventions to States is as solid as—if not more than—that of the Provinces. And there are precedents to invoke. The Indian Council of Agricultural Research has sponsored a number of schemes in that way in the States. It is certainly not difficult to link together contributory States and Provinces on joint boards of administration on a basis of equal or pro rata contribution, and thus avoid debarring the States from getting financial help from Central Government for post war planning.

### PLANNING IN BARODA

Indian States at least some of them, were not slow in taking up planning activities. Baroda, Mysore, Travancore, and others have made substantial progress in this respect.

Before reviewing planning activities in Baroda one salient fact may be stated. Baroda begins planning with an initial advantage which the rest of India has not. In certain respects the State has steadfastly pursued a progressive policy, with the result



that there is little scope for much further extension in these directions. For instance many of the items of educational reform proposed in the Sargent Report have already borne fruit in Baroda. In respect to railways, the State has the most extensive net work for its size, as compared to the rest of India. With this initial advantage Baroda must be able to offer a lead to other parts of the country in respect of post war reconstruction. Another salient fact is that Baroda like the rest of India is a country of villages necessitating proper emphasis on the development of rural areas in post war plans. It is gratifying to note that Baroda has realized this. No scheme of development will make any substantial progress unless it takes into account the development of rural areas, observed H.H. the Maharaja in his order establishing a post war reconstruction ministry.

Coming to actual post war plans of Baroda, we find that a ten-year plan of economic reconstruction was envisaged in the Government order which appointed a first committee for the purpose in 1943. After the committee had worked for about a year a separate ministry of post war reconstruction was appointed in October, 1944. The important items tackled by the ministry are agriculture, trade and industry, communications, education and other social services.

Agriculture has been rightly given the pride of place in Baroda. During the last decade Baroda has expanded its agricultural department and is at present spending about Rs. 10 lakhs per annum on it. The preliminary plan envisages an expenditure of about Rs. 1½ crores for intensifying the activities of the water supply, agricultural education, livestock improvement and taking to the home of the agriculturists the results of agricultural research through village propaganda. Several big irrigation projects costing about Rs. 3 crores are already on hand. The number of Rural Reconstruction Centres which at present stands at three is to be increased to thirty five within the next five years.

Baroda's industrial advance in recent years is quite well known. The two important large industries of the State are the textile and the chemical industries. The findings of the committee reveal that there is still scope for expansion in this direction. The main difficulty in the way of industrial expansion is the availability of sufficient power resources. There are no suitable rivers or falls that can be harnessed for this purpose. Efforts are being made to utilize grid and turbine systems for increasing the power supply.

#### ORGANIZATION

The planning organization in Baroda is entrusted to a senior member of the Executive Council of the State. To assist him a central post war reconstruction board has been established. The members of this board are drawn from officials and non-officials. The member in charge of post war reconstruction prepares plans and works out details in consultation with the board. To scrutinize all these schemes and plans from the All India viewpoint a special Board of Industrial Advice is created with Sir Homi Mehta as the chairman. The board at present consists of six members who are eminent industrialists of Western India.

#### DIFFICULTIES

Baroda with initial advantages in social services, has a few disadvantages too causing a number of minor and major difficulties to post war plans. Firstly its territories are closely interlinked with those of British India. The great difficulty in our planning, stated Rajratna Mukerjee, the Member for Post War Reconstruction is that the nature of our territory is such that all our biggest schemes have to take into account the needs and reactions of our neighbours. Our planning therefore, will in a great measure depend on the measure of co-operation we are able to enlist from our neighbours. Baroda's solution in this respect seems to be twofold: firstly, all its post war reconstruction committees are working on lines very similar to those of the Bombay Province, and secondly as stated above a Board of Industrial Advice with leading industrialists has been constituted for examining the post war schemes from the broader All India viewpoint.

## FINANCE

In view of the initial advantages, Baroda cannot draw up a very ambitious programme like the rest of the country. The first five-year plan of reconstruction prepared by the post war reconstruction ministry is estimated to require an expenditure of Rs. 10 crores only. Apart from the subventions that may be given to Indian States by the Central Government, Baroda's proposed methods of meeting the post war reconstruction finance are: (1) Available annual savings of the State are transferred to the post war reconstruction fund which was opened in 1942-43 with a nest-egg of Rs. 30 lakhs and which has now reached a total of Rs. 1.14 crores. (2) Excess profits fund which has been built up from amounts received under the excess profits ordinance promulgated in the year 1942. The amounts received under this measure are not taken to the State treasury but are collected in a separate fund which is to be utilized for industrial expansion of the State after the war. (3) The State also contemplates an appeal to private philanthropy for the bulk of the capital cost for higher education in medicine, agriculture, technology, engineering, etc.

These are the main features of Baroda's post war schemes. They are less ambitious; they do not need much finance; and they are to pass the test of the All India view point. Moreover, it seems that the State is not going to raise post war reconstruction finance by any fresh taxation.

## THOUGHTS ON A PLANNED ECONOMY FOR INDIA

BY ANWAR IQBAL QURESHI

## I. A GENERAL SURVEY

ONE of the main factors accounting for the comparative economic backwardness of countries like India in the past was the lack of peace and political security. Thanks to *Pax Britannica* the country has now achieved a remarkable degree of political and social security with the result that the spirit of savings and investment has been continuously growing in the country, and during the last twenty years or so Indian industry with Indian capital has developed tremendously.

We may first expose the fallacy that industrialization in the East is likely adversely to affect the Western countries. This is far from the truth. As a matter of fact it will ultimately benefit these countries because an increase in the standard of living in the East will open practically unlimited opportunities to supply goods to these growing markets. Let us take one concrete example. It is said that the development of the cotton industry is likely to seriously affect the interest of Lancashire. The *per capita* consumption of cloth in India at present is only 16 yards which practically is the lowest in the world.

The aim of post war planning in India is to double our standard of living. Accordingly, if we assume that the consumption of cloth in this country increases from 16 yards to 32 yards per head and in the ordinary course of things India is to provide the entire cloth requirements of the country, if no increase in the standard of living is assumed and Lancashire is asked only to provide the surplus cloth required India can absorb the entire production of Lancashire and still she will not be able to meet all her requirements. This shows the extent of the markets waiting to be captured and the great assistance that should be extended to us by other countries in their own interest.

It is with this fact in mind that schemes for post war development are being prepared in Hyderabad.

## POST WAR PLANNING IN HYDERABAD

The Department to plan the post war economy of Hyderabad was started in April 1943, with one of the ablest civil servants of the State as its Secretary.

With the rest of India Hyderabad, as a self-governing State has the onerous task of adapting itself to post war economic conditions and of developing its agriculture and industries in order to enable its people to increase their purchasing power and to provide for themselves a decent standard of living in the post war period. The cessation of hostilities will create problems no less serious than those brought about by the war and it is the duty of every Government to visualize and make every possible preparation to meet them. The problems that Hyderabad has to tackle are as diverse as those elsewhere in India and of the same magnitude but in some respects their solution is probably not so easy because the State, compared with many British Indian Provinces has much leeway to make in the field of industrial and agricultural development and has to surmount difficulties in gearing its quasi feudal economy to post war needs. The planning of peace-time economy in Hyderabad comprises a variety of problems of vital interest to the State, and in fact, involves an all-sided development and mobilization of its entire resources. For the development of agriculture which is the mainstay of its people big irrigation schemes have to be evolved and improved methods of agriculture, marketing and collective and co-operative farming have to be introduced. The hydro-electric industry has to be developed to provide cheap power in abundance not only for the expansion of industries but also for the electrification of villages and rural industries. With the availability of raw materials, Hyderabad can aspire to develop textile, oil and ceramic industries at least to the extent of self sufficiency. With the electrification of villages there is a vast scope for the development of small scale and cottage industries which will result in increasing the income of the villagers. It is also necessary to develop industries for the manufacture of fertilizers to increase the yield of agricultural lands and for the manufacture of machine tools to cater for our industrial and agricultural requirements. Blue prints of plant and machinery required for starting new industries and replacing worn-out machinery should be prepared beforehand, so that orders may be placed for obtaining them sufficiently in advance. Scientific research should be given an impetus and concentrated on our own raw materials. There should be a general stocktaking of the minerals found in this State for their industrial utilization. Communication should be expanded throughout the country for the transport of raw materials and finished products. The personnel required for agricultural and industrial development should be trained. Arrangements should be made for the settlement of demobilized personnel in industries and agriculture after necessary training. Then there are the problems of illiteracy and ill health which should be tackled both in rural and urban areas as evidently it will not be possible to implement any scheme of economic advancement without educating the masses and making them physically fit for the task before them. Lastly there is the problem of raising funds for implementing the post war schemes. If Hyderabad is to adapt itself to the changing needs of the time and if plans are to be worked out and implemented for raising the State's income and the standard of life of its people money should be found for this purpose.

Various States, Provinces and the Government of India have set up Post War Planning Departments, but with very minor exceptions so far their planning has not achieved any tangible shape nor has any provision been made for funds to achieve those aims and objects. In this respect great contribution to the budgetary technique was made by Hyderabad. In presenting its Budget for the year 1943-44 the Finance Member made a provision for the creation of Post War Development Reserve, which was to consist of about Rs. 3 crores. This was necessary at this stage because due to the falling of the revenue, it would not be so easy to raise funds after the war. I think an apology is hardly needed to give a somewhat rather lengthy quotation from the Budget note to show how Hyderabad has realized the implications of post war economic development and the courage and determination of the authorities of the State to fully provide for the economic development of the country. The Hon. Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, Finance Member mentioning the functions of this reserve, remarked

'This reserve should be earmarked for meeting expenditure on nation-building activities like Education, Public Health, Medical Relief and Rural and Industrial Development. While the increase in revenue due to war conditions

may not last when peace dawns and the artificial conditions created by war melt away, the need for expenditure on nation-building activities and the pressure for development of social services is bound to increase. Plans are being worked now by several departments for post war development. The Education Department has indeed already gone ahead and is ready to proceed with certain schemes even during the continuance of hostilities. No better use of the money accumulating in the reserve due to war conditions could be found than to consolidate it and divert it when needed to nation-building activities so that the strain on our Budget in the post war period is reduced at a time when revenues may not show their present elasticity and demand for expansion would be real and pressing.

Thus war has not left the old and orthodox concepts of finance unaffected and the old citadel of technical and rigid finance with its meticulous controls and strict examination of productive and nation building schemes from a somewhat narrow point of view of their immediate ability to meet interest and depreciation charges, is yielding fast to the more advanced and rational basis of judging development schemes from the point of view of their direct and indirect benefits to the people in the country. Schemes which may not be immediately remunerative in the sense of producing enough revenue to meet interest and depreciation charges may however, confer benefits on the citizens far outweighing in their economic and social aspects the deficiencies in meeting the necessary financial charges. The intention is that this fund should take the first shock of such losses till such time as the schemes could be considered even from the orthodox point of view as self supporting. This change in the outlook of finance should assist in the initiation and execution of development works and beneficial schemes conceived on a long range policy based on imagination, foresight and ultimate good of the citizen. The sanctity attached to balanced Budgets has broken down under the stress of war which has demonstrated that expenditure on beneficial activities like education, rural and industrial development and public health bring in an indirect return in raising the general efficiency of the individuals and therefore their earning capacity which in its wake should bring in increased revenue to the State in one form or the other. Such increased revenue is not according to the orthodox methods of finance an indication of the remunerative character of schemes. The schemes which do not fulfil the orthodox conditions but are after taking the indirect benefits to the citizen into account considered desirable should find support for this fund.

While the intention is that during the period of the war so far as possible expenditure from this fund should be limited to the interest earned the grants from the corpus of the fund should become available where necessary even before the cessation of hostilities.

The Bombay Industrialist Plan has attracted a good deal of attention for its boldness and for showing the magnitude of the problem. This plan was published in January, 1944. Hyderabad can claim rightful pride in the matter because a month before the publication of the Bombay plan the head of the Economics Department, Osmania University delivering his presidential address before the sixth Hyderabad Economic Conference, showed that Hyderabad would require a sum of Rs. 210 crores to double its income in five years. Explaining the implications of doubling the national income of Hyderabad during the next five years he remarked:

If for simplicity we take the present population of Hyderabad State at 1.75 crores and the *per capita* income at Rs. 60 we get a total national income of 105 crores per annum. Now let us see what will be the magnitude of the capital required to double our national income, say in the course of five years. Figures are available for about twelve countries, showing that the ratio between national capital and real income is 2.7. But the ratio varies from industry to industry and the capital invested. In industries where the capital investment is very high, the ratio is also high. For a State like Hyderabad where the capital investment is not likely to be high we can assume the ratio of national capital and real

income as two. On this assumption we find that in order to double our income we require something like Rs. 210 crores for the whole period of five years or Rs. 42 crores per year. If the income is to be again doubled during the second cycle of five years—viz. from Rs. 105 to 210 crores—we shall require a capital of Rs. 420 crores or a yearly sum of Rs. 84 crores.

Although the war has exposed the bogey of finance and has demonstrated that where there is a will there is a way we must not run away with the idea that we can now build castles in the air. Production in any form of society is limited by man power, land, raw materials and machinery. There is no doubt that there is abundance of man power in this country but land in relation to pressure of population is strictly limited. The raw materials are not very abundant, and machinery is entirely lacking in the country as a whole and for a very considerable period of time machinery will have to be imported from other countries. But our capacity to import is limited by export or to borrow. The lack of machinery and trained labour was very much felt and seriously retarded the rate of Russian progress during the early years of their gigantic experiment.

The problem before Hyderabad is to spend Rs. 42 crores each year in order to increase its national income at the rate of 20 per cent. per annum. The fundamental question to be asked is can this sum be raised? It will not be an easy matter to provide a sum of Rs. 210 crores in the course of five years. The national economy will have to be thoroughly overhauled to meet the requirements of the situation. Much of our unproductive expenditure will have to be very drastically curtailed. The savings will require thorough mobilization. Ornaments and jewellery will have to disappear and many more things will have to be done.

#### THE PROGRESS OF PLANNING WORK IN HYDERABAD

In order to associate all shades of public opinion of the State with the work of post war planning a Post War Planning Board was set up consisting of twenty-eight members both officials and non-officials with His Excellency the President of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government as its chairman. In order to prepare concrete schemes for the post war development fourteen expert committees have been set up. Under these committees about twenty-eight sub-committees are to go into further details.

Following is the list of the main committees

- (1) Irrigation and Hydro-electric power
- (2) General industries other than those covered by committees Nos. 3 and 4
- (3) Small-scale industries and cottage industries
- (4) (a) Cotton textile, woollen, oils, ceramics and electrical goods industries  
(b) Mineral Resources
- (5) Government Works and Communications other than Railways
- (6) Scientific and Industrial Research.
- (7) Education (particularly vocational education), including agriculture
- (8) Training of Personnel
- (9) Rural Reconstruction
- (10) Man Power
- (11) Public Health.
- (12) Finance currency banking, exchange and trade
- (13) Labour
- (14) Housing

The aims before the Board cover practically all fields of activity. We aim at increasing our agricultural production by the use of modern methods, better implements, provision of fertilizers, irrigation facilities and by educating the cultivator and his progeny, relieving him of his indebtedness, giving him a better house to live in, better and sufficient clothing to wear, and giving him some diversion and greatest interest in life.

A misunderstanding exists in certain quarters and the fear expressed that the

planning in various States is likely to lead to isolationism and to the growth of un economic small local units. In this connection the following observations of the honourable member in charge of the post war development should satisfy even the most pessimistic thinkers. He has remarked that

A concentrated plan by all units forming the vast sub-continent of India, having one common aim differing in methods of work and execution only to suit local conditions, is an essential condition for success. Co-ordination of effort, pooling of all knowledge and ideas, and avoidance of overlapping are essential in the common interest. With her limited resources of technical man power, no part of India could afford to fritter away its resources or try to become self-sufficient in all matters.

As a concrete example of our Inter State and Provincial co-operation I may mention that Hyderabad has recently entered into an agreement with the Governments of Madras and Mysore State to tap the waters of the river Tungabhadra and jointly complete the irrigations and hydro-electric schemes

(To be continued)

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## THE APPRECIATION OF INDIAN ART

BY BARBARA WHITTINGTON JONES

OPPORTUNITIES to study Indian art in this country have long been astonishingly scanty, and is more than a century behind other branches of Indian learning.

Already in the eighteenth century the study of Indian philology and history had been initiated by a group of East India Company officials who were inspired orientalists as well as distinguished administrators. The founding of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784, in which Sir William Jones that phenomenal linguist who is the true father of British orientalism was the prime mover and its first President opened a vast field of scholarship in Indian antiquities which is a big item on the credit side of our connection with India as well as a unique enrichment to world culture. This enterprise owed much to the active support of the Governor General, Warren Hastings, who for strictly practical reasons sought a means of training officials in Sanskrit so that they might better administer the Hindu population of the former Moghul Empire (Persian being the official court language of the Moghuls, and the lingua franca of India as a whole was known to most company officials but until the last quarter of the eighteenth century the study of Sanskrit was a closed book to all Europeans living in India. Hindu laws writings and petitions had therefore to be translated into Persian to enable the English rulers to understand and apply them.)

At home in England the beginning of Sanskrit studies may be held to date from the opening of the company's library and museum at Leadenhall Street in 1801 when Sir Charles Wilkins the original pioneer of Sanskrit philology became librarian. This project also was effectively encouraged by Warren Hastings, then in retirement. It was followed by the founding by the company of Haileybury College in 1806, the nursery of future Indian administrators and in 1823 by the founding of the Royal Asiatic Society by Henry Colebrook third in this great triad of Sanskrit scholars.

But attention to pure art lagged perhaps because a mastery of the linguistic and archaeological background was indispensable to a real understanding of Indian art forms. Even so, in view of our long and intimate connection with India and the abundance of flourishing learned institutions to further it, one continues to wonder how the serious study of Indian art came to be overlooked until about thirty years ago. A beginning was made in 1910 when in a famous letter to *The Times* the values of Indian sculpture were proclaimed for the first time by a group of working artists. The signatories included Laurence Housman, Walter Crane, W. B. Yeats, W. R. Lethaby, T. W. Rolleston, Sir Thomas Arnold and William Rothenstein.

We find in the best art of India a lofty and adequate expression of the religious emotion of the people and of their deepest thoughts on the subject of the divine, they wrote. We trust that [the School of National Art in that country] will zealously preserve the individual character which is the outgrowth of the history and physical conditions of the country, as well as of those ancient and profound religious conceptions which are the glory of India and of all the Eastern world.

As a result of this gesture the India Society was founded in the following year to promote interest in Indian art. One of its first undertakings was the publication of copies of the Ajanta frescoes. Later it held exhibitions of Indo-Saracenic art and of Hindu religious art. In 1934 it organized an exhibition of modern Indian art from the art schools of Calcutta, Bombay and elsewhere. It included some of Tagore's own paintings and was opened by the Queen, then Duchess of York.

Fresh encouragement was given by the King Emperor George V at the opening of the School of Oriental Studies in 1917, when he said that "the ancient history and art of India are of unique interest in the history of human endeavour and thence forward Indian art and archaeology have been taught at London University. At Wembley the India Society organized a display of Indian paintings which proved one of the chief centres of attraction and there was also a stall of arts and crafts arranged by Mr Lionel Heath, head of the Art School in Lahore. In 1931 the Burlington Fine Arts Club held a private exhibition of Indian art which attracted much attention from orientalists. Rather belatedly a full-dress affair at Burlington House on the lines of the great Persian, Chinese and other exhibitions was planned for the winter of 1939-40, but had to be cancelled owing to the war. In this brief survey mention must be made of the great permanent Indian collections at the British Museum and at the Victoria and Albert Museum, which are much visited by foreign scholars and very popular with the schools.

Last year *The Times* published another letter this time in an admonitory tone. It called for greater attention to Indian art literature and archaeology and appeared on October 11, 1943, over the signatures of Mr Amery, Mr R. A. Butler, Mr John Massfield, Lord Zetland, Lord Wavell, Sir William Rothenstein and others.

They wrote: "It is a regrettable truth that these studies have generally obtained less recognition in Britain in spite of our Imperial responsibilities than on the Continent, and we feel that urgent efforts should be made to remedy this state of affairs. A happy solution of the difficult political problem of the present day, the letter continued, upon which good relations between Britain and India in future depend springs ultimately from an understanding of each other's spiritual and cultural backgrounds.

Sir Kenneth Clark, the revolutionary and modernistic Director of the National Gallery, declared the other day that mediæval Indian sculpture is very much underrated. The late Roger Fry he described as "an honourable exception to the almost universal disregard of Indian art forms among English art critics. Some years earlier Mr Lawrence Binyon had compared the Ajanta frescoes with the best Italian paintings. In 1940 the India Society sponsored a photographic exhibition of Hindu art which was held at the Warburg Institute. It had been arranged by Dr Stella Kramrisch of the University of Calcutta. It was opened by Mr Amery before a large audience and subsequently went on tour in the Provinces. A small Indian Art Exhibition recently held at the Alpine Club was a striking expression of the immense potential interest in Indian art. Owing to wartime conditions it was not possible to obtain specimens from India. The exhibition there fore relied entirely upon examples loaned by private collectors in England.

A group of Gandhara sculptures third to fourth century provided the most notable feature of the exhibition. Recovered from the inaccessible valleys of the Indo-Afghan Frontier these Buddhas of greyish-blue schist with their somewhat incongruous Greek draperies are a forceful reminder of the Macedonian invasion under Alexander the Great when contact between Europe and Asia began. By the fifth century A.D. we find that the classical veneer has long disappeared or been absorbed and a Gupta Buddha in bronze is wholly Indian in spirit and in form. Several Khmer heads of the twelfth to fourteenth century in sandstone illustrated the Indian influence upon Siam and Farther India. Some exquisite Moghul miniatures included some panels

of illuminated calligraphy and a portrait of the Emperor Shah Jehan. The heyday of John Company was reflected in the display of gay hand-painted re-dyed chintzes made expressly for the European market, where they helped to create the eighteenth century vogue for *chinoiserie*.

The "austerity" dimensions of this little exhibition were effectively enlarged by the rich comprehensive programme of lectures, mostly illustrated by superb lantern slides of Indian scenes and monuments, and of readings from Indian classics. The lecturers included Mr K. de B Codrington the dynamic Keeper of the Indian Section at the Victoria and Albert Museum and one of the technical advisers to the exhibition, Miss Dora Gordine (the Hon Mrs Richard Hare), the distinguished sculptress, Dr E H Hunt, Mr Basil Gray, Dr J C Ghosh, Mr Sisir Kumar Mukherjee, Dr Reginald le May, Miss Beryl de Zoete, Mr Swami Avatykananta, Mr Bhupen Mukherjee. Readings from Indian literature were given by Dame Sybil Thorndike, Mr Robert Speight, Miss Sheri Saklatvala, Mr V C Clinton Baddeley, Miss Peggy Ashcroft and Miss Patricia Hilliard. In spite of the doodlebugs these lectures and the exhibition were very well attended.

Some critics have professed to find the art of India and China too difficult to understand. But Mr Codrington replied that no creation of man in East or West is too difficult to understand given the will to learn and the time to study. Ancient Greece is no more and Rome is hardly what it was, he said. The Oriental empires of the Nile and the Tigris are dead. Only in China and India does tradition survive from the beginning. No man who boasts himself a humanist can afford to neglect them.

The rising ascendancy of Asiatic art was also stressed by Miss Dora Gordine. The art of today, she declared, has more to learn from the sculpture of India and China than from Greece and Rome. For pure sculpture unlike painting reached a degree of perfection in Asia which it hardly ever achieved in Europe except perhaps for a certain period in Greece.

This stimulating effort was followed by the organization by Mr Codrington of an exhibition entitled *Colour and Pattern in India* under the auspices of the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts which is touring the island after a preliminary view at the Imperial Institute. This will perform the very useful function of familiarizing the Provinces with Indian art.

It is to be hoped that the plans for a large-scale exhibition of Indian art sponsored by the India Society for display at Burlington House will be revived as soon as possible. Considerable stimulus has been given by Queen Mary who has always been deeply interested in Indian art, and recently honoured the India Society by her membership and graciously consented to become its patron. Its name has accordingly been changed to The Royal India Society. Let us hope that the change foreshadows a new awakening to the claims of Indian art and culture upon the attention of the Western world.

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## THE INDIAN STATES IN WAR AND PEACE

(FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)

A RECENT official survey reveals that the Indian States have supplied over 375,000 recruits for the fighting forces of India. Some of these are with States units, others with Indian Army units. Recruitment in the States has covered all branches of the fighting forces—the Army, Navy and Air Force as well as the auxiliary services attached to them. Large numbers of men have also been recruited to non-combatant ranks, including many for skilled and technical work. Enlistment is entirely on a voluntary basis in all the States. Besides enlisting large numbers through their own recruiting organizations, the States have extended complete co-operation and active assistance to the Central Recruiting Committees organized by the Defence Depart-



ment of the Government of India. At present 63 States units are serving outside the States. In addition 38 Indian Army units have been raised by the States.

In regard to the fighting valour and competence of the men so recruited Lord Linlithgow's farewell tribute still remains applicable—viz. that The Indian States Forces have taken full advantage of the opportunities that have come to them to win fresh distinction on the battlefield. As the former Viceroy added: Nor has the active aid of the States in the actual war zones been confined to combatant units. Invaluable assistance at a time of very real and pressing need, has been lent by the Indian States in providing labour units for the construction of roads and aerodromes. For the rest, contributions and offers of personal service, aircraft, buildings, labour, watercraft, machinery, training facilities and medical aid, donations and gifts of every sort and description have continued to pour in from Indian States in an ever widening stream. They have shown unstinted generosity and co-operation thanks to their help great aerodromes, strategical projects of every kind have sprung up in the territory of the Indian States. Facilities of every kind have been most readily granted not only to British and Indian forces but to the forces of our Allies and in particular certain States at the cost of wide stretches of famous forests most carefully guarded in the past, have helped immensely in the training of men in the new science of jungle warfare. The value of the latter service is adequately measured by the recent advances in Burma.

Indeed as the pages of this periodical have constantly testified every State has placed its resources unreservedly at the disposal of the War Department. While some of the larger States like Hyderabad Mysore Baroda Kashmir Gwalior and Travancore which possess large industries have been able to supply a variety of goods some of the smaller States have made valuable contributions from their natural resources. For example, Keonraih and Mayurbhanj have supplied over three million tons of iron ore (two million tons of pig iron) while Sandur State in South India has contributed vast quantities of manganese. An arms factory has been started in Hyderabad with the active co-operation of the Nizam's Government. Mysore is producing 24,000 tons of steel per annum which is subsequently rolled into bars and structurals. The State also makes large quantities of cast pipes and some of its high grade iron is used for making machinery castings. Mysore is now erecting a second 25-ton steel furnace which will almost double its steel output. Another recent installation is an electric furnace to produce ferro-silicon for steel making. These furnaces will meet about half the total demand of India. Among other States Hyderabad and Baroda are making valuable contributions to arms and ammunition production. The States have also undertaken pioneering work in the field of aircraft production notably Mysore.

Although the foregoing details afford convincing proofs of the industrial activities and the considerable potentialities of the Indian States at a time when available resources are being subjected to the closest scrutiny they do not tell the whole story. For textile manufacture is by no means a monopoly of British India. Thousands of Army blankets and many thousands of yards of woollen cloth and hosiery goods have been supplied by Hyderabad Baroda Kashmir and other States while Kashmir and Mysore supply the silk required for the manufacture of parachutes. The Maharaja of Gwalior presented to the Government of India as a free gift the only mill in India equipped to manufacture webbing cloth. Again a very large proportion of India's supply of chemicals comes from Hyderabad Mysore, Baroda Kashmir Gwalior Bikaner and Mayurbhanj. Kashmir is the world's chief supplier of belladonna from which atropine sulphas and various other preparations are made. The entire turpentine production of Kashmir is devoted to war needs, while valuable chemicals of every kind prepared in Hyderabad Mysore and Baroda are also devoted exclusively to defence requirements. Rubber products have come from Travancore Baroda and Mysore and have been an additionally valuable standby owing to Japanese occupation of the larger rubber growing areas further east. Timber is another States product, and has been made available to the extent of 215,000 tons for the manufacture of railway sleepers aeroplanes, and smaller articles such as packing cases, rifle butts, etc. Such essential building materials as cement and tiles have come in large quantities from the States, Hyderabad alone producing 250,000 tons of

cement annually. This list is not exhaustive but, lest it should become exhausting let it suffice! It should however, be added that in their all-out war effort the States are contributing money proportionately to their resources, as unstintingly as they are providing men and material. In some States military expenditure has increased by as much as 300 to 400 per cent while the average increase exceeds 100 per cent. these figures excluding outlay on A.R.P. Civic Guards additional police, etc. In terms of donations the States total contributions are more than half the All India figure in the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund which now totals about £8,000,000. Although this is neither the time nor the place to divulge the controversial issues which have led to a temporary suspension of the meetings of the Chamber of Princes one assertion which may be made with complete confidence is that the States contribution to India's war effort remains unaffected the Chancellor of the Chamber reflecting the attitude of his brother Princes without exception or exaggeration when in a recent speech he declared 'I am not one of those who regard the turning of the tide as an occasion for resting upon our oars rather should we redouble our efforts to reach our goal with the least delay lest another turn of the tide should find us still at sea'.

Whether the economic co-operation essential to the full implementation of the reconstruction plans recently adumbrated by the Government of India can be achieved without the Constitutional Federation contemplated by the India Act of 1935 only time can reveal. Palpably maximum development in such fields as hydro electric power irrigation road expansion and improvement and many of the other projects outlined in the New Delhi cannot be achieved unless the fullest collaboration is secured—if not by federation then by voluntary co-operation within the ambit of the present political structure. As regards post war planning as readers are aware the larger and more progressive States are at least as active as the British India Provinces and indeed are ahead of some of them.

In Hyderabad, where the State had already acquired the railways from the London company which formerly owned and managed them it has now also acquired a controlling interest in the local coal mining industry purchasing the holdings of sterling shareholders for that purpose. In British India the Central Government has for many years owned a number of coal mines which are used to supplement the coal purchased for railway requirements from private collieries but in Hyderabad in this field the Government now occupies the position of sole producer and the considerations which prompted it to adopt this rôle are worth noting. As explained in a Hyderabad White Paper the history of modern mining in the Nizam's dominions dates back to 1886, when Messrs W. C. Watson and J. Stewart were given a monopoly of mining rights in the State for 99 years. The same year the concessionaires formed a company called the Hyderabad Deccan Company. Most of the mining activities in the State have since been in the hands of this company or in those of the companies to which it transferred its rights. In 1907 the Hyderabad Deccan Company was granted leases in the State covering an area of about 3,075 sq miles in addition to the leases for Singareni coal and the Raichur Doab gold granted respectively in 1893 and 1894. In 1920 the Singareni Collieries Company Limited was incorporated and registered under the laws of the State and 88.5 per cent. of the shares of the company were acquired and held by the Hyderabad Deccan Company. The Singareni Collieries Company took over the lease of the Singareni Collieries and rights in respect of the Kothagudem coalfields from the Hyderabad Deccan Company and gradually acquired its rights over all the other coal-bearing areas.

In Hyderabad as in British India the war time shortage of labour led to a decline in coal production for which State ownership it was decided afforded the only effective remedy. To quote the Hyderabad Government's own document:

As the sole right for mining activities in the areas under the lease were vested in the Singareni Collieries Company Government could not take any action to increase the output of coal to meet the growing industrial needs of the State. In the wake of the war came rising prices and a general rise in wages. Increased industrial activity opened up alternative avenues of employment for

the mine labourer offering attractive wages with less rigorous conditions of work. This naturally decreased the number of workers in the mines and led almost to an exodus of labour from the coal-fields. Ultimately it became evident that the output of coal could be maintained only if Government acquired an interest in the collieries and employed their administrative machinery for the recruitment and maintenance of labour at the collieries. Failing this it was apprehended, the output of coal would continue to fall.

With a view to keeping up and increasing the output of coal to further their plans of post war development in general and to step up their war effort in particular His Exalted Highness's Government considered it essential to acquire a controlling interest in the Singareni Collieries Company. It was also felt necessary that arrangements should be made by payment of reasonable compensation to obtain surrenders and transfers of concessions and rights held by the Hyderabad Deccan Company in respect of coal, gold, diamonds and other minerals occurring in the dominions so as to relieve our entire mineral wealth of all long term concessional encumbrances.

Enquiries revealed that the Hyderabad Deccan Company was willing to sell its entire holdings of the ordinary shares and debentures of the Singareni Collieries Company if a reasonable price was offered, and no great difficulty was experienced in reaching terms mutually acceptable. From the standpoint of Hyderabad as Government emphasize one important factor was that being domiciled in Great Britain the Hyderabad Deccan Company was liable to heavy taxation (about ten shillings in the pound) of its revenue derived almost entirely from the shares of the Singareni Collieries held by it. With the transfer of these shares to India the dividends will no longer be liable to such heavy deductions. Above all the Hyderabad Government can henceforth control its own output of coal and other minerals in its own way and on lines contributory to a co-ordinated plan of industrial development. It has been calculated that the quantity of coal available from the area leased to the Singareni Company is about 1 000 million tons. Of this the quantity extracted so far is only about 33 million tons. This points to a long period of profitable working, with production and distribution regulated to suit State interests, added to the general consideration that, as claimed, the acquisition by Government of a controlling interest in the mining industry of the State carries the assurance that the general mineral wealth of the State will be utilized for fulfilling its growing industrial and other needs.

It would, I think, be a complete misinterpretation of this action to infer that the object in view is to terminate the connection of British capital or enterprise with India's premier State. If old doors are closing new doors are opening. Hyderabad nurtures, and intends to further large industrial ambitions. Speaking at the Seventh Industrial Exhibition held recently in Hyderabad H.E.H. the Nizam epitomized the programme of his Government when he declared: 'Apart from reviving the ancient arts and crafts it is necessary also to establish modern large-scale industries in order to improve the economic conditions of the country. By this I mean mass production of machine made goods which are not only needed in the country but for which there is a demand also outside the State. This declaration may serve as a reminder to British manufacturers that the scope for industrial collaboration in India is not limited to the British India Provinces alone. Typical of the official projects now going forward in Hyderabad is the determination to establish a new industrial town in the Godavary Valley, a part of the State rich in minerals such as coal, limestone, soapstone, fine clay, iron ore and graphite as well as in such other products as timber, cotton, and oilseeds. In due course it is hoped to establish other industrial centres in Raichur, Nalgonda and Warangal all of which are rich in mineral wealth. The Commerce and Industries Member the Hon. Nawab Zain Yar Jung Bahadur, stresses that 'A vital factor which will play a great part in the success of the Godavary Valley Scheme is the installation of hydro-electric and thermal power stations which will provide cheap power for maintaining the industries established there. The new industrial town will be built on entirely modern lines with efficient and adequate arrangements for housing labour.'

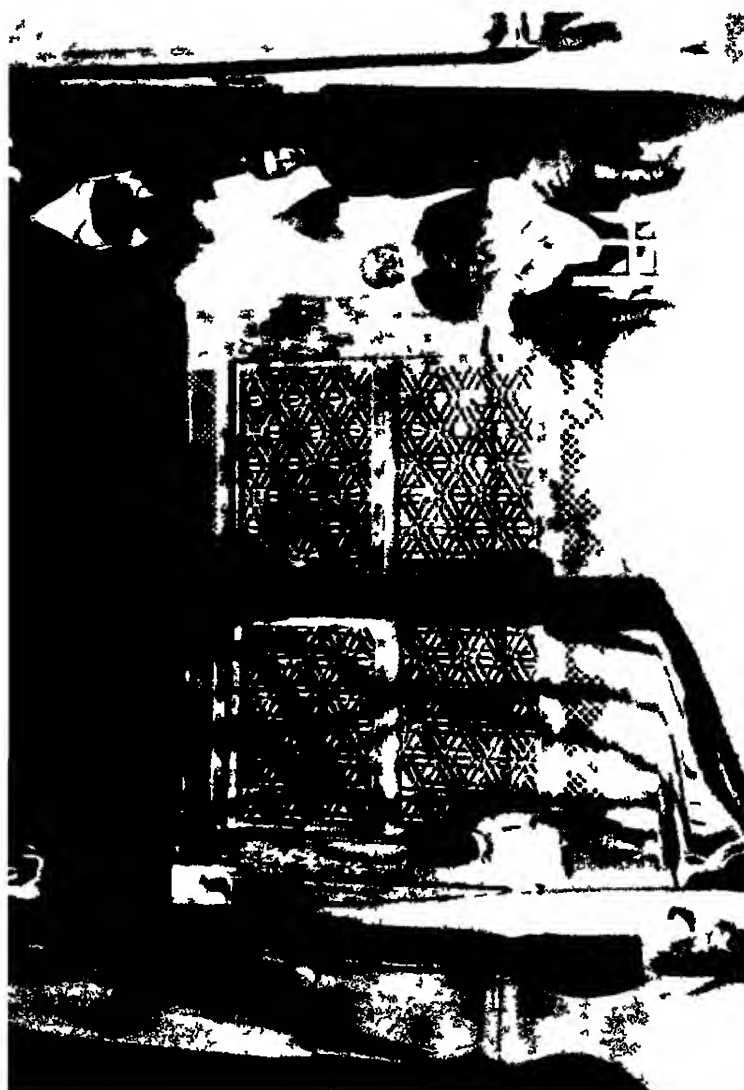


SAMARKAND SHAH I ZINDA

*Photo Soviet War News Weekly.*

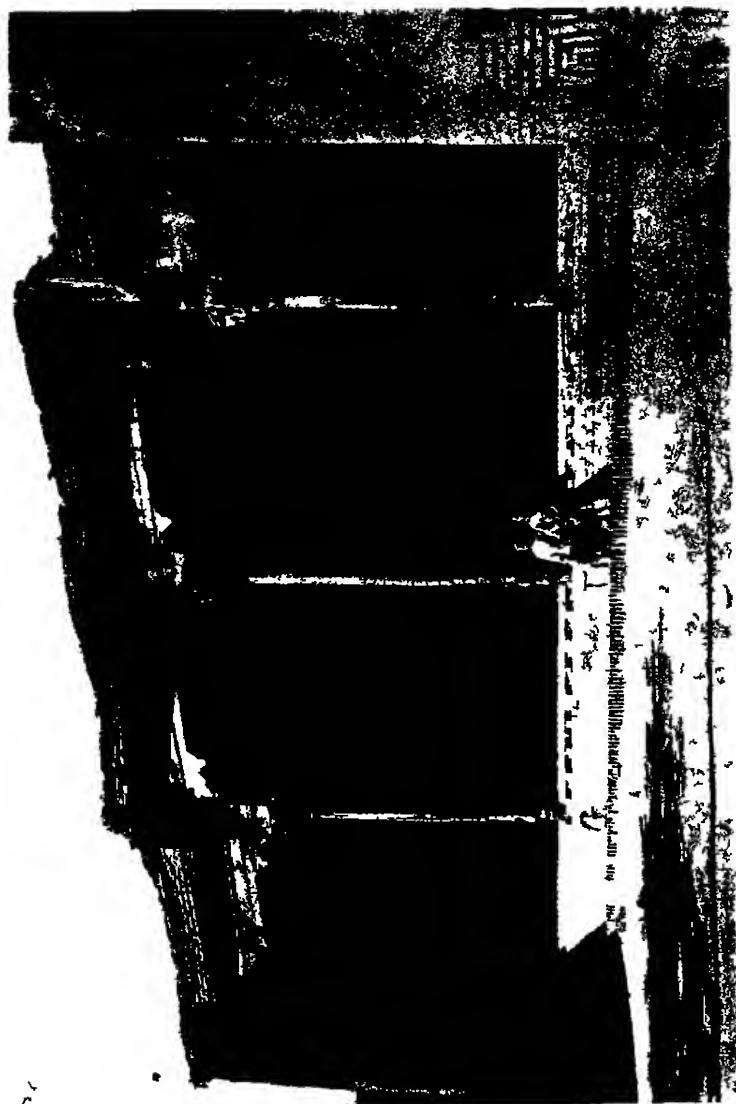
PLATE II





T SHKENT KASHAARCHA R LATTICE WUI IN A PRIVATE HOUSE

*From the Hermitage Collection*



TASHKENT CENTRAL VIEW OF THE MOSQUE OF TURKUN ATIA

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## MONUMENTS OF MUSSULMAN CULTURE IN UZBEKISTAN

BY TASHMUHAMED KARINIYASOV

(President of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek S S R)

THE territory of the present-day Uzbek Republic is one of the most ancient seats of civilization. The numerous old monuments to be found here are the objects of constant care on the part of the Uzbek Government which annually assigns large funds for their restoration and preservation. In the early days of Soviet rule a special committee was set up to carry out this extensive and valuable work. Its members study and restore relics of the Middle Ages, a period of particular interest in the history of the Central Asiatic peoples known as the "Central Asiatic Renaissance."

A thorough study has been made of the site of ancient Samarkand, capital of the mighty State founded by the celebrated Timur. A plan of the town as it existed at the time of the Timur dynasty has been drawn up, showing the exact location of the various monuments and buildings many of which have survived to this day.

An important piece of work done in Samarkand was the straightening out of the minaret of the famous Medressah erected by Ulug Bek, grandson of Timur, and eminent savant and humanist of his period. The minaret was threatening to collapse and it required much technical ingenuity on the part of Soviet architects to save it.

Equally important were the measures taken to preserve from decay the seventeenth-century Medressah in Samarkand known as Shup Dor. The arch of its main portal was relaid. Restoration work was also performed on the coloured ceramic facing of another Medressah of the same period, Till Kara, a structure of striking beauty and elegance. This work was made possible by the discovery of the lost secret of manufacture of these coloured ceramic tiles which were used in Central Asia in the Middle Ages for facing buildings.

Archæological research carried out in Samarkand led to the discovery of the remains of the celebrated suburban palace of Ulug Bek. It was known in its time as the Porcelain Palace because of the porcelain tiles with which the interior halls were lined and which according to legend were brought from China on camels just prior to the war. A special Government Commission consisting of eminent archæologists, anthropologists, historians and physicians observing all measures of precaution, opened up the vaults of the mausoleum G R Emir where he interred Timur, his son Shahruh, his grandson Ulug Bek and other of his near descendants. Highly valuable information was gathered.

Extensive archæological researches have also been carried out by Soviet experts in ancient Kharizm. Excavations reveal that a very high culture once flourished in this city. Remains of monuments of diverse periods from the first to the tenth centuries of our era have been found buried in the sand. These finds are particularly valuable as no written records exist of Kharizm of that period.

On the western edge of the Bukhara oasis, archæologists have discovered the remains of a palace, one of the most ancient monuments of the town of Barkhash, to judge by evidence taken from Narhash, the tenth-century historian of Bukhara. Barkhash flourished in the first millennium of our era and for a long time it was the residence of the so-called Bukhar Khudats, the rulers of the Bukhara oasis. The palace was built between the third and seventh centuries and for its magnificence and beauty was classed by Narhash among the seven wonders of the world. Very fine specimens of carved alabaster used to ornament the interior halls have been found.

Archæological excavations have also been carried out in Termez, another of the ancient cities of Central Asia, situated on the banks of the Amudarya. Here fine specimens of Greco-Bactrian art have been discovered.

Extensive operations concentrated chiefly on the site of the Guremur Mausoleum are still continuing in Samarkand. Two years' research has revealed that Guremur constituted only part of a series of large architectural structures which are today no



longer extant. This is confirmed by the discovery beneath a two-metre layer of sand of the remains of the foundations of a building part of which was built prior to Guremir. Guremir is now being carefully restored to preserve for many ages to come this monument of ancient Mussulman culture. The Uzbekistan Government has assigned two million roubles for the work, for which old folk craftsmen skilled in Central Asiatic art building, have volunteered their services. Collective farms have offered to provide the building materials necessary for the work.

One most valuable piece of research undertaken in war time is the study of Shahrīsyabz not far from which Timur was born. The ancient Mussulman monuments to be found in this town are in many cases not inferior in beauty and luxuriance to those of Samarkand, but until quite recently they had not been studied so closely. It is now possible to establish the date of erection of many of these relics some of which proved to be much older than was originally supposed. Careful research has ascertained that one of the most ancient monuments in Shahrīsyabz known to this day as Hazret-i-Iman, is actually the mausoleum erected by Timur and intended for himself and members of his family. However as we know Timur was buried in Samarkand.

In Bukhara besides extensive restoration work carried out before the war in the celebrated tenth-century mausoleum of Ismail Samanid and the sixteenth-century Kalyan mosque, during the war itself the palace of the nineteenth-century emirs of Bukhara has been restored. It is now a museum.

## WHO WERE THE SARACENS?

BY C C R MURPHY

In the history of the Middle Ages we read a great deal about the Saracens—a generic term that seems to have been loosely applied to all who took up arms against those striving to obtain for Christendom the control of the Holy Land.

Even before the close of the Plantagenet dynasty, in spite of the failure of the Crusades and the waning popularity of penitentiary pilgrimages inn signs such as the *Saracen's Head*, the *Turk's Head* and the *Trip to Jerusalem* were occasionally to be seen by the roadside, but by the beginning of the seventeenth century the first named at all events had become general throughout England. Most of these famous inns with titles reminiscent of the Crusades have vanished long ago though a few—notably the *Saracen's Head* at Southwell near Newark another of the same name at King's Norton, and the *Trip to Jerusalem* at Nottingham—are still in existence, whilst the general interest in the Saracens themselves remains as keen as ever. Though so many centuries have passed away since that interest was first aroused people are still asking: Who actually were the Saracens? How did this household word come into the English language and what is the ultimate derivation of it? These questions are not easily answered involving as they do much consideration and research. Nevertheless it is proposed to discuss the subject in this article and to see whether it is possible to arrive at any conclusions.

According to the *Encyclopædia of Islam* the earliest certain mention of this name is to be found in the work composed by Dioscurides about the middle of the first century A.D. who describes the resin of bdellium as a product of a Saracenic tree, adding that it was imported through Petra. Pliny the elder states that the Arab tribes of the interior whose lands bordered on the Nabateans, were called Araceni. Ptolemy in his books on geography that were written about the middle of the second century says that Sarakene was the name of a territory lying to the west of the Black Mountains that stretched from the Gulf of Faran to Judæa, beside Egypt. On the other hand the same authority describes the Saracens as a people in the interior of Arabia Felix.

According to Stephanus Byzantinus, Saraka was a district beyond the Nabataeans, who were themselves Arabs, and its inhabitants were called Sarakenoi. In the treatise of Bardasanes (third century) the Sarakoye—for which the translation of Eusebius gives Sarakenoi—are simply the nomad Arabs. These statements are very important.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* says that in mediæval times the name was often associated with Sarah the wife of Abraham and adds that St. Jerome identifies the Saracens with the Agareni (Hagarens descendants of Hagar), who are now called Saracens, taking to themselves the name of Sara.

Of the above the statement by Ptolemy is entirely unsupported, whilst that of St. Jerome appears to be based on conjecture alone. Neither of them is convincing and we may safely conclude that the people whom the Greeks called Sarakenoi and the Romans Saraceni were merely the nomad Arabs of the desert. It is probable that the name was originally applied by the scattered Greek and Roman communities of Syria and Palestine, perhaps even before the Christian era to all the Arabs with whom they came in contact. Much later it was used by them and the Byzantines as a generic term for the followers of the Prophet and was transmitted to western Europe through the Crusaders who always spoke of their Muslim adversaries as Saracens.

Many years ago during a long sojourn in Syria and Palestine the writer discussed this subject at length with several prominent Arabic and Aramaic scholars and from these discussions three important points emerged—namely (1) that the name Sarakene was unknown to Arabic literature and tradition alike (2) that it was not the name of any particular tribe or place and (3) that it was a name used by Europeans and not by the Arabs themselves. It was also agreed that there was nothing to be said in favour of a suggestion by Moritz that the little Beduin tribe of Sawarke who live at the present day along the coast between Pelusium and Ghazza may be their descendants.

It seems logical to suppose that the ultimate derivation of our word Saracen which has for so long been a matter of controversy amongst scholars must be sought in one of the Semitic languages. Many theories have been advanced as to its origin the most popular being that it is derived from the Arabic word *sharq* meaning sun rise or east and that the Saracens were merely the *sharqiyyin*, or easterners just as the Arabs of North Africa were the *maghribiyyin* or westerners. This argument however contains a serious flaw because the Arabs when expressing the direction of a place in terms of the compass always did so in its relation to Mecca. The application of such terms as east and west was thus strictly limited by them even in the Days of Ignorance.

It must be borne in mind that Mecca did not spring suddenly into existence or fame with the coming of the Prophet. Long before the rise of Islam it was not only a commercial centre but also a celebrated place of pilgrimage. The Meccins naturally referred to the people of North Africa as westerners because they dwelt in a land that lay outside the Arabian continent and to the west of Mecca but they would never have spoken of the Saracens as easterners. Nor would the Europeans domiciled in Syria have done so. This important limitation which compels a re-examination of the subject seems to have been overlooked even by Burton himself. For a long time the champions of the *sharq* theory have dominated the field and the support given to it by Burton (who may not have gone deeply into the matter) has so far deterred its opponents from taking the initiative. Actually, however there is nothing to be said in its favour.

Two other suggested derivations—however unworthy of serious consideration—may be noted in passing. The first associates the Aramaic Sarakaje with Sarakhs a town in north-eastern Iran the second with Sirkeji the port railway terminus in Stamboul. Sirkeji means vinegar maker or vinegar-seller from *sırke* the Turkish word for vinegar—also used in Urdu and Persian. Neither of these place names however has any etymological connection with Sarakaje. They are clearly cases of mistaken identity and have only been quoted to show (as Archbishop Trench would have said) the absurdities into which we may be betrayed by a similarity of sound.

The OED says that among the later Greeks and Romans Saracens was the name for the nomadic peoples of the Syro-Arabian desert who harassed the Syrian confines of the empire. The question is, however were they so called because they

were nomads, or because they harassed their neighbours? In other words, was it because they were Bedouin or because they were marauders?

The imputation that the Saracens were marauders gave rise to the idea that the name was derived from the Arabic word *sariq* meaning a robber plural *sariqin*. The resemblance is certainly tempting but the theory is to be rejected. After the foundation of the Arabian empire by the successors of the Prophet the Byzantines call Saracens all Muslim peoples subject to the Caliphs and this usage survived into the late Middle Ages, as is shown by the anecdote given by Ibn Battuta, who was greeted in Constantinople by the Emperor as Sarakeno, that is Muslim. He would scarcely have been addressed in that fashion had the name been capable of any sinister interpretation.

Having thus dismissed the *shariq* and *sariq* theories as untenable, the reader will naturally ask 'What alternative do you propose to offer in their stead?' Here is the answer. The signposts all point the same way.

In Aramaic, the word denoting the nomad Arabs of the desert as distinguished from the settled Arabs of the towns, villages and oases was *Sarakaje*, derived from the Aramaic root *srāk* meaning empty and (by metonymy) a desert. Aramaic speaking people called the desert *srāk* because it was an empty place—that is to say, devoid of fixed habitations. In exactly the same way the Arabs call the great desert that covers the south eastern portion of the Arabian continent the *Ruba al Khālī* or the empty quarter. In this connection it is interesting to note that our word Bedouin comes from the Arabic *badā* a desert. The Bedouin are thus merely the dwellers in the desert, though of course they must be Arabs of the right blood or stock for not all Arabs are Bedouin even though they may be nomads.

In support of this view the *Encyclopædia of Islam* says that the spelling *sarkī* in the Palestinian Talmud and in the Targum Yerushalmi as well as amongst the Syrians points to *sarak* as the root provided that this form is not based on Sarakenos. The same authority states that Winckler thought he had discovered the word *sharraḳu* in the meaning desert-dwellers in two passages in Sargon's *Annals*, and derived the name Saracens from this. There is no doubt that the Akkadian word *sharraḳu* and the Aramaic *srāk* spring from a common root of great antiquity.

In conclusion therefore we may express the opinion with reasonable confidence that our word Saracen came into the English language through the post-classical Greek and Latin writers that these people were originally the nomad Arabs of the desert and that the ultimate derivation of the name is to be found in the Aramaic root *srāk*.

## THE PROBLEM OF MALAYA

By J. R. PERCEVAL

Nor all those who express opinions concerning the future of British Malaya seem to be aware that except for the Colony of the Straits Settlements, no part of Malaya is British territory. Both the federated and unfederated States which comprise almost the entire mainland of Malaya, are independent States ruled by their own sovereigns. Although the Malays living in them are glad to regard themselves as members of the British Empire, they are not British subjects but are subjects of their respective Sultans, who rule under British protection and guidance. The problems of the Malay States cannot, therefore, be solved by dictatorial methods, and any speculation upon them which ignores the significance of the Sultans is bound to be misguided.

The four central States (Perak, Pahang, Selangor and Negri Sembilan) are federated but each has its own Malay Ruler, as zealous in maintaining his position and powers as are the Rulers of the five unfederated States. Johore in the south, Perlis, Kedah, Kelantan and Trengganu in the north (all four now incorporated in

Siam by the Japanese). Under the treaties of protection we are pledged not only to respect Malay custom and religion, but also to uphold the position of the Rulers. Any attempt to do otherwise would be utterly unjustifiable.

Opponents of British Imperialism often insinuate that these Malay Rulers are mere puppets subsidized by the British Government. In theory the possibility of their deteriorating to this inferior status is obvious and needs to be constantly guarded against. In practice the Sultans enjoy the whole-hearted support of their peoples, who recognize them not only as their Rulers but also as the chief guardians of Malay interests. Loyalty to their Sultan and their State is, indeed, one of the dominant characteristics of the Malays. The fact that this loyalty scarcely extends as yet beyond the boundaries of the individual State is a relic of the feudal conditions prevailing in the country up to the time of British protection. It is also one of the main obstacles to achieving the political and economic unity of Malaya as a whole which is essential for its future welfare.

Each of the States has its own postage stamps and although the whole of the Malaya is no larger than Great Britain each of the unfederated States has its own customs duties. The federation was an experiment in unity and it brought great benefits to the States concerned, as well as indirect benefits to the others. The reason that these other States remained firmly aloof was the fear that entry into the federation would infringe upon their sovereignty. It was mainly to allay such fears that the policy of decentralization was introduced into the F.M.S. but, although each of the unfederated States had a British Adviser with very wide political powers, it was not his policy to force the Ruler to act against the latter's will and so far as federation in any form was concerned, he was expressly forbidden by treaty to do so.

Strong as the position of the Malay Rulers was and strong as it will remain under British protection, it is nevertheless a somewhat incongruous one. The cause of this incongruity may be readily appreciated by reference to the figures of Malaya's population as estimated in 1940. Of the nearly 5½ million inhabitants of Malaya in that year only 2½ millions were Malays, including a large proportion of Malay immigrants from the Netherlands Indies. The Chinese on the other hand numbered 2,350,000. The total of the Indian population was 750,000 and that of the Europeans only 31,000.

These figures tell the story of Malaya far more explicitly than any history books can do. They also indicate the true nature of the Malayan problem. That problem is not primarily one of military defence, as many people have been inclined to suppose. The lessons of the Malayan campaign will supply their own clear answer as to what measures will be required for the future defence of the country. It cannot be sufficiently emphasized, moreover, that the defeat of Malaya, as all the evidence collated by Sir George Maxwell in *The Civil Defence of Malaya*, proves beyond doubt, was from beginning to end a military disaster due to lack of military preparedness and adequate military forces. Failure to realize this fact and the consequent attempts to seek other explanations for that defeat have been responsible for much of the confusion of public opinion on the issues involved.

The real problem of Malaya has its roots buried deep in the country and in its people. In the country, because Malaya is one of the richest and most fertile lands in the world which before the war was supplying approximately one half of the world's rubber and one third of the world's tin. In the people, because although the Malays are the natural heirs of this rich land, it is the Malays alone who have neither sought nor desired the wealth of Malaya. Muhammadans by religion, their way of living is, in this respect at least, more strictly Christian than that of most of the countries professing Christianity. The whole of the modern history of Malaya is founded on this paradox.

In some of the Malay States the majority of the inhabitants are not Malays but Chinese. There is also a considerable proportion of Indians, who are British subjects. These Chinese, however, are not British subjects. Those who have been born in the Malay States are frequently referred to as natural-born subjects of the Sultans, but, as Roland Braddell, an eminent authority on Malayan law, recently pointed out in the magazine *British Malaya*, the Malay Rulers will accept as subjects only those who are Muhammadans and are of Malay parentage, or who at

least have a Malay father. The present status of the Chinese in the Malay States is, therefore, that of Chinese citizens even though they may be domiciled in Malaya.

In the Colony the proportion of Chinese is still higher. But both Singapore and Penang were ceded to us by treaty and, having turned these two islands from uninhabitable malarial swamps into two of the most important shipping and commercial centres in the East, their internal problems are of no direct concern to anybody but ourselves. It does not matter to anybody else how high the proportion of Chinese in them may be. Malacca has strong traditional associations with the Chinese in Malaya, dating back as far as four centuries, but apart from the implications of its position on the mainland its significance today is in other respects largely historic. The position in the Malay States however is totally different. Our relation to them is that of trustee and therefore involves the difficult and delicate responsibility of supervising *their* property for *their* benefit. Our role is neither to compel nor to dictate but to advise and guide.

The bulk of the Chinese as also of the Indians in Malaya supply the country's labour forces on the rubber plantations and in the tin mines. The Malay not without reason considers himself the gentleman of the East, and he does not care for this type of work, or for any branch of commerce and has little if any aptitude for it. Except for a small educated minority the Malays are essentially a peasant or fishing people. They may well delight in running small rubber plantations on their own, and many Malays have small holdings of this nature—the Government did much to help and encourage them in this—but provided they gain an income sufficient to meet their meagre needs they are satisfied. If they can sell out at a profit and retire on the proceeds, they will not hesitate to do so. It is the Chinese therefore, and to a lesser extent the Indians who have always formed the economic backbone of the country and who are mainly responsible for its great prosperity.

Under British protection great Reservations were established in which Malays alone might own land and much else was done to afford the Malay States economic and political protection. Several of the Malay Sultans realized however that the prosperity of their States was dependent upon alien immigration and the inflow of Chinese consequently continued on a great scale although under a system of rigid control. We established a Chinese Secretariat and Protectors of Chinese in Malaya also a Controller of Labour in order to supervise the immigrant Chinese and Indian labour forces. But the most important step taken to protect the interests of the Malays was the exclusion of all except Malays and British Europeans from the administrative services of the country.

The majority of the Chinese labour force in Malaya are not concerned with the political problems of the country. They are there to earn a better living than they can do in their homeland and having earned it, they return to China. Their interests do not therefore necessarily coincide with those of the Malays. There are however many other Chinese whose families have been living in Malaya for generations. The 1931 census showed that 31 per cent. of the Chinese population of Malaya had been born there. Their lives and interests are identified solely with the country of their adoption and they consider themselves Malaysians rather than Chinese. Many of them do not speak Chinese. Although they are represented on the State Legislative and Federal Councils they are still banned from the administrative services, and this exclusion has been a long-standing grievance in their eyes. In answer to the policy of Malaya for the Malays, these Chinese put forward a claim of Malaya for the Malaysians. Their claims cannot lightly be ignored although it is feared in many quarters that any further encroachment of the Chinese in this direction might easily equal their present economic encroachment.

To some extent this underlying conflict has been aggravated in recent years by the rise of a spirit of nationalism in China the influence of which, Malays fear is extending to the huge Chinese community in Malaya. At the same time failure to establish the political position of the Malayan Chinese on a more satisfactory basis must necessarily tend to make them more receptive to any outside influence or support for their cause than they would otherwise tend to be. There is, accordingly, a serious danger of a vicious circle evolving.

The crux of the Malayan problem lies in a decision, or at least a reconciliation,

between these two conflicting policies and some ultimate solution to that problem must be found before the country can become a political unity capable of standing on its own feet in the modern world. Any such decision, however, which ignores the wishes of the Malay Rulers as representatives of their race would be contrary to our declared policy towards the country. Should some of these Sultans fail to survive the Japanese occupation it will be our duty to place the rightful heirs upon their thrones and it must be remembered that the education of the next generation of Malay Rulers has been very different from that of their predecessors. The young Malay princes have been brought up on more or less English public school lines and many of them have travelled and studied in Europe. It is good that they should have done so for it is mainly upon their shoulders that the task of helping their people to adapt themselves to the conditions prevailing in the rest of the world will fall. As a result of their education and travels they are likely to have views of their own as to how this task may be best performed.

The purpose of this article is to state the problem of Malaya rather than to solve it for the first step towards any such solution must be the removal of misconceptions concerning the real nature of the problem. It would seem that the solution itself must lie along two parallel lines.

Firstly no good purpose can be served by ignoring the presence of the Chinese community or their legitimate aspirations so long as these aspirations do not extend beyond Malaya. For those Chinese who are permanent residents in Malaya and who have renounced or are prepared to renounce all other ties of allegiance it should be possible to provide a more satisfactory political status than they have hitherto enjoyed.

Secondly everything possible must be done to educate and encourage the Malays themselves to be able to compete with the Chinese. Much has already been done in this direction but much remains to be done.

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## THE TERRACES OF NIGHT\*

BY PETER WARREN TEW

The author was the winner of a prize in the *Young People's China Short Story Competition* organized by Mrs Hilda Seligman in London.

Tsao Lin looked up into his mother's calm eyes. They were deep brown and flecked with white, rather like the pods he remembered seeing on the banks of the Yangtse-kiang when he was very little and they were peaceful as peaceful as the Chinese night and perhaps he thought as inscrutable. She smiled down at him and idly stroked his head.

Mother, he said suddenly, why don't the Americans and British come to help us? All these years we've been fighting alone against such frightful odds and with so few weapons. They say they are Democracies and that they want freedom for all people. Then why don't they do something?

His mother stopped stroking the back of his head and regarded her out of the corner of his eyes. He saw by the expression on her face that she was deep in thought.

At last she spoke.

It's difficult for them, my dear, she said. You see they too are in deadly danger, not from Japan so much as from Germany. When Hitler is beaten then they will come. I am absolutely sure. What a day that will be for China! The sky will be black with aeroplanes, not Japanese bombers, but British and American machines, the heralds of liberation. She sighed softly. If only I could live to see that.

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\* Sleeping on the terraces of night is the beautiful Chinese phrase meaning death.

You will mother said Tsao Lin softly

That is in the lap of the gods, she answered quickly but I doubt it Now, and she rose to her feet, you must go down to the village and buy food

She gave him money from the little tin box she kept under the pillow of her comfort \* and with a heavy heart Tsao Lin set out down the hill

Two hours later—for it was a long, stiff climb back to the hut, perched like an eagle's eyrie on the side of the mountain—Tsao Lin pushed open the door and called out to his mother There was no reply, only the muffled echo of his own voice Suddenly fear clutched with icy fingers at his heart-strings. Something dreadful had happened He knew it, could feel it somehow in the very atmosphere of the room, all the warmth had gone out of it and been replaced by a chill which seemed to penetrate to the very marrow of his bones On the table in the middle of the room piled up neatly were his mother's clothes the clothes she had been wearing when he left for the village—and they were the only clothes she possessed! Wild with panic sweeping over him like some vast tidal wave his eyes explored the room Nothing But, yes, there was something the one big window which overlooked the precipitous rocks falling to the swift flowing river below, was wide open and the hinges creaked as the shutter was blown backwards and forwards in the wind The noise completely unnerved him and he was about to rush he knew not where when his eyes fastened on a piece of paper which lay almost concealed under the heap of clothes

Fearfully—why he did not know—he slowly approached the table then quickly making up his mind snatched the bit of paper and smoothed it out It read as follows

#### MY DEAREST SON

Good bye and may the God of our fathers bless you and keep you always Since your father was killed at the front it's been almost impossible to make ends meet You've understood that, I think and now there is so little money left, just enough with what you can get in the village for my clothes to take you to your uncle Ling in Chungking He will look after you and bring you up to be a good Chinaman What happens to us older people doesn't really matter much the world that will come out of this chaos is for youth See that you are worthy to take your place in it Remember my darling, I shall be watching you all the time from where I am sleeping peacefully on the terraces of night  
Good bye my darling good-bye

Tsao Lin fell to the floor and wept unrestrainedly Why oh why had this to happen? Would the free world never come to the rescue? Would freedom never return to tortured China? Slowly his eyes closed and the sleep of utter physical and mental exhaustion engulfed him

Outside the shutter still swung backwards and forwards creaking each time—and Tsao Lin and China waited for the dawn of a new day

## HOW CHINESE AIRMEN FIGHT

By JACK RANDOLPH

(Special American Information Service Correspondent)

THE headquarters building of the Chinese American Composite Wing Squadron is a two-roomed building where nothing ever seems to be happening The deceptive quiet in its bare rooms is not even disturbed when important operations are in progress

\* Comfort is the Chinese name for a bed. It is generally composed of cloth padded with cotton-wool

Occasionally young Chinese pilots, or Americans, drop in from their nearby quarters to talk to the twenty-eight year-old American Commander or to exchange idle chatter. Even when they are told that they are about to go on a mission they receive the information as they would receive the news that a truck had a puncture outside headquarters. They may talk a little more or just sit and smoke, before strolling away.

A few minutes later they may be getting their briefing for a dangerous job, and in half an hour or so thereafter they will be in the air. There the casual attitude ends. No airmen ever have been more eager for combat than the Chinese pilots of this squadron—according to their own Commander a young American Major who is not given to exaggeration about anything. In fact that eagerness troubles him a little sometimes.

The only thing I ever had to criticize these fellows for is that sometimes I can't get them away from the target, he said. Our system in strafing is to hit the target once and then go on before the Japs can get their guns set. A second pass at the target gives them a chance to get ready. But sometimes these boys keep on going back four or five times. They don't care how low they go either or how heavy the flak is. They take greater risks than I want them to take and it's hard to hold them back.

He thought that over for a minute and added:

But then if you want combat fliers you've got to get men who want to fight and I've got them.

He ought to know because he has been with them since they became a squadron. He and some American fliers met them at an air base in India to give them combat training. Some of them like their thirty-two-year-old Chinese Commander, had been fighting in the air ever since that day seven years ago when a few Chinese planes struggled aloft to fight the overwhelmingly superior Jap Air Force at Shanghai. Others were trained in the United States and have not had combat experience. He and his aides taught them the American type of formation flying and the air tactics developed by the 14th Air Force. They are good fliers already.

I took some of them up to teach them gunnery, he said, but I soon found I couldn't teach them much. They were already good gunners.

After their training in India they came here as a squadron. By that time the Major had flown with every man and knew each man's abilities.

The Chinese airmen form a full squadron, some forty officers and some eighty other ranks with their own commander. The Americans are commanded by the Major. He commands the entire group in air operations. They are members of the Chinese Air Force assigned to duty with the Composite Wing of the 14th Air Force. Eventually they will be returned as a veteran unit to the Chinese Air Force by the simple expedient of withdrawing the Americans assigned to them.

On missions the flying group are usually composed of about half Americans and half Chinese pilots with full Chinese crews behind the Americans. But some missions are all Chinese. Frequently they team up with elements from nearby 14th Air Force fields for dual 14th Air Force-Composite Wing missions. In all of the missions they are part of the operations by which the 14th Air Force has wrecked Jap communications and supplies far to the north, smashing shipping along the coast and blasting Jap troops and gun positions in the field as the actual artillery of the Chinese ground troops in East China.

The Chinese pilots are particularly fond of strafing and will carry it out under any difficulties. Not so long ago they had a mission in which they were supposed to bomb at 10,000 feet. But the cloud base was so low that they ended by bombing at 800 feet. Flak tossed them around and their own bomb concussion bounced them. Yet when that was over they came back to strafe roads and ground troops. One of them had a shell hole as big as a man's head through the base of one wing, if the shell had exploded it would have torn the wing off.

Their missions are so frequent that they have become precise formation fliers. Chinese fly as smoothly with Americans as with their own countrymen and *vice versa*. Their eagerness to fight remains keen after dozens of missions and their *esprit de corps* is high. Every one of them seems to be extremely fond of their young



American Commander and all of them accept his judgment on air operations implicitly. He says of them:

Some nights I go to bed mad as hell at them for returning to a target to strafe again when they should get out of there. But even then, I usually wind up by going to sleep proud as hell.

## THE FOOD SITUATION IN CHINA

BY DR. TAO SHING CHANG

It must be explained at the outset that in China the term "food" is used to denote rice, wheat, barley, kaoliang (sorghum), corn, potatoes and other similar crops containing starch. Of these, rice and wheat, being the commonest used and the most essential, are called major crops, whereas the others, either because their production is limited in area or because their consumption is limited to certain localities, are regarded as supplementary food, less in importance than rice and wheat and are generally called miscellaneous crops. These (both the major and miscellaneous crops) constitute the daily food of the Chinese population and are therefore called staple food. Meats, vegetables, oils, fats, salt and sugar, although equally essential from the point of view of nutrition, are regarded as subsidiary foodstuffs and are therefore called secondary food. Long usage limits the term "food" to imply the so-called staple food only, having no regard to the secondary food at all, and the review that follows will not deviate from long usage.

### I—CHINA IS SELF-SUFFICIENT IN FOOD

Chinese farming consists mainly in the production of cereals. Areas actually tilled extend over 80 per cent of tillable land. Such a ratio is hardly seen in any European or American country. In addition to this, Chinese farmers carry on farming almost entirely by themselves, each family a unit, cultivating a small tract of land and having therefore no fear of shortage of labour. For this reason, food is produced throughout the length and breadth of the country. Then again, as China's territory is extensive, having varied climate, varied topography and varied soil, the food produced covers a wide range of varieties, each adapted to the local conditions where it is produced. Even when there is a shortage of a particular kind of crop in a particular locality during a particular season, owing to flood, drought or pest, it seldom tends to have far-reaching consequences on the whole, if other kinds of crops of other localities during other seasons still are, or have been plentiful, thus regulating food supply. Taking the nation as a whole, there is never any fear of food shortage.

The following table shows the annual production of the whole country of ten kinds of foodstuffs based on the statistics of the last ten years:

Kind	Amount (in Chinese piculs)
1 Rice	932,927,000
2 Wheat	434,617,000
3 Barley	176,768,000
4 Kaoliang	224,381,000
5 Corn	169,246,000
6 Millet	183,062,000
7 Proso-millet	30,725,000
8 Oats	18,753,000
9 Sweet potatoes	397,387,000
10 Soy beans	209,033,000
Total	2,776,909,000

From the above figures it may be seen that each of the 450 million of the Chinese population may be allotted more than six piculs of food every year. In other words, it is clear that the annual production is not entirely consumed, and there is always a surplus.

Rice and wheat are the commonest used foodstuffs in China. Statistics of the recent five years show that on the average of all the foodstuffs consumed 54.5 per cent is rice, 13 per cent is wheat and the remaining 32.5 per cent is miscellaneous food stuffs. For this reason we may judge whether China's food supply is sufficient or not by taking into consideration the figures showing the amounts produced and consumed annually of rice and wheat only, to see if there is surplus or deficit. Although conditions vary in Provinces individually, statistics of the recent few years show that on the whole there is every year a surplus of 35,022,000 piculs of rice and of 11,357,000 piculs of wheat, totalling 46,379,000 piculs. This well proves that China is self sufficient in food.

One might ask: If China is truly self sufficient in agricultural products, why should she have to import foreign foodstuffs annually? According to the statistics of the customs during the four years previous to the war (1934-1937) China imported annually 6,808,957 kilograms of rice, 2,814,267 kilograms of wheat and 430,044 kilograms of flour. Obviously if there was abundance of food during those years there was no need of foreign imports. This however had nothing to do with shortage or scarcity. There were external reasons to account for as follows:

1. Inadequate means of inland transportation retarded the free flow of food from producing centres to such coastal ports as Canton, Shanghai and Tientsin which being accessible to foreign countries by sea routes, used to resort to foreign food, usually cheaper and more easily transported.

2. Imported rice and wheat used to be exempted from import duties, thus encouraging them to dump the Chinese market. Import duties were first introduced in 1933 but the rates were so low that the importation of foreign food was in no way checked. On the other hand, before the abolition of the *likin* system, revenue collecting houses were so numerous in interior China and the tax rates were so exorbitant as to discourage transportation of food from one place to another. Naturally native food could not compete with imported food on the market.

3. As rice and wheat producing areas used to vary greatly in climatic and topographical conditions, the crops yielded varied in degree and quality. Primitive implements and methods were employed in food production and food manufacture, and so the quality of farm products was far from uniform. This accounted for the fact that they could not find a ready market, and the food dealers were only too glad to carry on transactions in imported food having a standardized quality.

All in all, the importation of foreign rice and wheat was not due to insufficient supply of native food but, on the other hand, proved to us that there was always a surplus in the interior. Eighty per cent. of the imported rice, for example, was consumed in Kwangtung where food production used to be less than consumption. Although there was always a surplus in the two neighbouring Provinces of Kiangsi and Hunan, lack of adequate means of transportation kept it from flowing into Kwangtung. Since the completion of the Canton Hankow Railway food has begun to be transported from Hunan into Kwangtung and the amount of imported rice has steadily decreased. Blockade of the China coast by the enemy in the early stages of the present war cut short the supply of imported rice and wheat and yet did not reduce the latter Province to starvation, strongly testifying that China is truly self sufficient in food.

## II—SUPPLY OF FOOD IN WARTIME

Since the outbreak of hostilities in July 1937, vast tracts of food producing areas, especially in the coastal Provinces, have fallen into enemy hands. The trumpets of war have called away large numbers of farmers from the fields. Means of transportation have been rendered even more difficult than ever. All these result in decreased production. On the other hand, the war zones are extending in area, the demand for military provisions is ever increasing, innumerable civil officers and civilians and

those engaged in industrial, mining and communication enterprises have migrated into Free China. Such being the situation, there is likely to be either shortage in the supply of food or inadequate distribution. In either case the grand task of resistance and reconstruction will be fatally affected but for the foresight of the Government. All measures in food administration in the time of war have been directed to production, collection and distribution to be dealt with separately as follows:

1 **INCREASED PRODUCTION OF FOOD IN WARTIME.**—The programme of increased production formulated by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry comprises more than twenty items the outstanding ones being (1) increased production of rice (2) increased production of wheat and miscellaneous crops, (3) remedy for and prevention of insect pests, (4) extended utilization of fertilizers (5) land reclamation and improvements in irrigation, (6) loaning of improved seeds to farmers on credit. As a result, in the year of 1942 farming land increased by more than 64 million mow and farm crops by more than 55 million piculs. In the year 1943 farming land increased by more than 58 million mow and farm crops by more than 42 million piculs.

2 **COLLECTION OF FOOD IN WARTIME.**—In order to have an adequate control of food to meet the demands for military and civilian provisions the Government has adopted various measures for collection of land tax in kind and for compulsory purchases at prescribed prices and compulsory borrowing from the landowners. These constitute the main sources of food under Government control. In addition the Government has resorted to rush purchases in war affected zones ordinary purchases and purchases by means of Government bonds proportional to land tax in kind. These latter meet timely needs.

No sooner than its inauguration in July 1941 the Ministry of Food promulgated a number of regulations governing the collection of land tax in kind in wartime and set upon the task. According to the stipulations of the said regulations the standard for collecting land-tax in kind should be calculated at the ratio of 4 tou or 40 per cent. of a picul) of paddy or 2 tou 8 shen (or 28 per cent. of a picul) of wheat to one dollar national currency as fixed for the regular tax and surtax to be levied for the fiscal year of 1941. In other words, the estimated amount of food to be so collected for that year should be 21,817,915 piculs, 30,541,450 piculs for the year of 1942 and 36,150,000 piculs for the year of 1943. The total amount of production in the year of 1943 was 1,222,904,956 piculs—that is to say, the estimated amount of land-tax for the same year was only 2.96 per cent. of the total production. Neither the landowners nor the farmers had excessive burdens to bear as a result of the adoption of the measure.

Collection of land-tax in kind alone however was not sufficient to meet the demand for military and civilian provisions. The Government had to resort to other measures. Apart from Hupeh, where all surplus food was bought over by the Government, and Kweichow, where purchases were made from large landowners, in all other Provinces purchases were made proportional to land tax in kind. The food so purchased was partly paid for in cash and partly in Food Bonds or Savings Bonds. For instance, at the very beginning, 30 per cent was paid in cash and 70 per cent in bonds in the Province of Szechuan. Later, when in view of national financial stringency it was deemed unwise to overburden the national Treasury for cash payments such purchases began to take the form of borrowing to be paid for in Government bonds in total in the Provinces of Szechuan, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Sikang, Fukien, Kansu, Shensi and Chekiang.

During the last three years the returns from collection of land-tax in kind and from various forms of Government purchases were 55,073,897 piculs in 1941, 71,074,407 piculs in 1942 and 80,710,000 in 1943. There is a tendency to increase from year to year. Apart from supplying military needs, there has always been an ample surplus for the adjustment of civilian provisions. Such effective measures of food control have contributed a great deal to the war of resistance.

3 **DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD IN WARTIME.**—The food collected through land-tax in kind and Government purchases has been used for three purposes: to supply military needs, to supply the needs of those in Government service and to regulate civilian provisions. These will be dealt with separately as in the following:

(a) *Military Provisions.*—In the early stages of the war military provisions were

supplied by the Bureau of Military Supplies and military supply stations through direct purchases from the farmers. What was paid for these purchases was deducted from the budgeted allowance of each army. In 1940 this system was modified and the major provisions were supplied to the army in kind, calculated according to the actual needs, in order that the livelihood of the officers and soldiers might not be affected by fluctuations of prices on the food market. This new system was carried out by degrees from one war zone to another and from one stage to another. The provisions were collected through purchases by war zone commanders' offices, by the provincial governments and by military provisions supply stations situated for the purpose and then distributed to the army or armies stationed therein. Since its inauguration in July 1941, the Ministry of Food took up the task of supplying military provisions in kind with the food under its control. Food has been distributed by the Ministry to the armies stationed in different war zones according to actual needs through the provincial food administrative organs to be drawn from what has been collected for land tax in kind and Government purchases. No shortage or delay has there ever been since then. In 1941 the appropriations of military provisions were based on the military register provided by the Ministry of Military Affairs with a 10 per cent extra as reserve food. Altogether 10,073,100 bags of rice and 7,529,870 bags of wheat each weighing 200 catties were so distributed. In 1942 as there was a greater demand and as it was thought wise to have more reserve food, the amount distributed increased to 12,267,688 bags of rice and 7,277,612 bags of wheat. In 1943 when there was a surplus left over from the previous year it was decided to supply military provisions at the ratio of 90 per cent in kind and 10 per cent in money subsidy so as to enable the army to make purchases in the area where it was stationed. The food distributed in that year amounted to 10,751,000 bags of rice and 6,797,000 bags of wheat and the money subsidy amounted to an equivalent of 688,000 bags of rice and 1,155,000 bags of wheat.

(b) *Provisions for Government Officers*—These have been appropriated according to the following standards:

Provisions for those and their families in the Central Government. The standard of appropriating these provisions has undergone modifications. At present the rations for those in the service of the Central Government and the professors and teachers in Government institutions and their families are fixed at one picul  $\frac{4}{5}$  of a picul or  $\frac{3}{5}$  of a picul of rice *per capita* for each month varying according to age. In principle they are to be supplied with food in kind. In localities where food is not plentifully produced they are given a money subsidy either in part or in whole to enable them to make purchases on the spot. For every one of them and their families living in Chungking is given  $\frac{1}{5}$  of a picul of rice each month. The amount so appropriated in 1943 totalled 5,839,418 piculs of rice and wheat apart from money subsidies.

Provisions for those in the service of provincial and local governments. These are classed into provisions for those in provincial governments and provisions for those in city or hsien governments. With regard to the former their rations are fixed at the same rate as those in the Central Government with the exceptions of students who receive 23 piculs each month and police force who receive 25/16 catties each day at the same rate as military provisions. As regards the latter as most of them are native people and produce food themselves their rations are fixed at 5 piculs for each family per month. The amount so appropriated in 1943 totalled 8,629,857 piculs for those in provincial governments and 10,520,942 piculs for those in local governments apart from money subsidies.

(c) *Regulation of Civilian Provisions*—To adjust civilian provisions use has been made of any surplus in the land tax in kind and Government purchases after making appropriations for military and Government needs. Only in a small number of densely populated consumption centres has there been the need of such adjustment. In other parts, and especially in rural districts where food is produced, no such need has there ever been. But as the amount needed in the large consumption centres is enormous, the surplus under Government control has often been found insufficient to meet the purpose. For this reason the Ministry of Food has instructed provincial and local food administrative organs to make timely investigations into the

amounts of food in the hands of large landowners so as to tighten the strings of control. The landowners are ordered to offer their holdings for sale from time to time to steady the food market. Then, again, the food administrative organs have been instructed to look after the registration of food dealers and reorganization of food dealers guilds, and to give aid and encouragement to the dealers in their transaction and transportation. These measures have helped a great deal to maintain an equilibrium between supply and demand and to steady food prices. Attention has also been given to the regulation of food supply between Provinces, making use of the surplus of one to make up the deficiency of another. Apart from Chungking and other important cities of Szechuan, where the Ministry has set up special food supply organs, the provincial governments have set up food supply and regulation stations in the more important consumption centres whose task it is to store up food from time to time for regulation purposes.

(To be continued)

## SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS IN TURKEY\*

By A R HUMPHREYS

Good evening! My subject to-night, Shakespeare's Plays in Turkey, is the story of a remarkable achievement of the Istanbul Theatre. This is an achievement which has owed its inspiration in particular to one man about whom I shall tell you.

When Shakespeare and his fellows thought of Turkey it was as the conquering Star and Crescent, which cast a turbulent influence across Europe from the palaces of the mysterious Sultans of Constantinople. Today in that same bewitching city renowned Istanbul Shakespeare's plays are performed by enthusiasts to applauding audiences—a consummation no Elizabethan could have dreamt of.

Let me introduce you in imagination to the man who has brought this about—Ertugrul Muhsin, the Director of the Istanbul Theatre. Picture a man of moderate height and broad build with the graceful gestures natural to the Turk, mingling the animation of the actor and the sagacity of the producer. His friendly, expressive face lights up when he hears you are interested in the drama. In his neat, well-polished office in his comfortable old-fashioned theatre ornamented with the gilded scrolls and florid medallions of the nineteenth century he shows you his souvenirs. Shakespeare is a religion in this the foremost theatre in Turkey free from self-consciousness and bondage to convention. Just think what it means to see a Shakespeare play for the first time, to hear the soliloquies of *Hamlet* or the murder scene of *Macbeth* for the first time or the trial scene in the *Merchant of Venice* or the almost unbearable intrigue of *Othello*. Try to imagine yourself in the theatre hanging on every word that carries the plot to a conclusion as yet unknown. That experience Ertugrul Muhsin has given his audiences. As for *Hamlet* the distinction of being the first in his country's history to play the part was his when he introduced the play to the Turkish stage in 1912. Since then he has played it again, in 1927 in his own translation and produced it most recently in 1942 in a translation by Turkey's most literary figure Madame Halide Edip. This caused tremendous excitement. Turkish critics take a serious view of their duties and Turkish actors take a serious view of critics, so a wonderful whirl of libel actions kept Istanbul agog for weeks. No wonder there is a freshness about Shakespeare in Turkey which makes actors, audiences and school children re-live each scene as though it were real.

Ertugrul Muhsin started his campaign in 1927. He opens each season with a fresh Shakespearean production. His actors like Shakespeare because of the challenge of

\*Text of broadcast given from Ankara by Mr A R Humphreys, who is a member of the staff of Liverpool University, seconded to the British Council for work at Istanbul University.

his difficulties, and his audience because of the action and the language. Shakespeare in a good translation is irresistible to Turks: one of whose hobbies is fine language—well-turned phrases and their own musical tongue. Ertugrul Muhisin does not merely wait for the audience to come to Shakespeare—he takes Shakespeare to the audience. He and his company have played *Hamlet* and *Othello* all over Anatolia, even in villages where the only previous entertainers had been strolling singers and jugglers. These new audiences swallowed the bait—hook line and sinker—he cherishes the memory of excited villagers leaping to their feet as Queen Gertrude towards the end of *Hamlet* drinks the poisoned chalice and shouting 'İçiyor! içiyor!' — 'She's drinking it! she's drinking it!'

*Hamlet* though the most popular is only one in a long list—*Twelfth Night*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Comedy of Errors*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *A Winter's Tale*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Measure for Measure* and *As you Like it* among the comedies, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Macbeth*, *King Lear* and *Othello* among the tragedies. This season gave us *A You Like It*—a jovial production with a truly Elizabethan spirit of fun. The theatre held its breath at the kindly vignettes of the Seven Ages of Man came delightfully through the expressive musical Turkish.

So much for the present. What of the future? The signs are good. There is an audience and players too, mostly young, working bravely on small salaries because they love the theatre. There are dramatists—Shakespeare leading but others well in the picture: Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Ben Jonson, Molière, Goldoni, Goethe, Schiller, Tchekov, Galsworthy, Barrie. As I speak, Somerset Maugham's *Home and Beauty* is being played. And there is the producer. As we rise to leave our final question, 'What do you hope to do?' brings a twinkle to his eye, the twinkle of an earnest ambition pursued with enjoyment. 'We want,' he says, 'to establish a tradition of culture here to put on nothing slipshod or second rate. We want (here the twinkle expands into a generous enthusiasm) to do Shakespeare better even than they do him at Stratford. Could any ambition be better?'

## THE ELEMENTS OF INDIAN MUSIC\*

BY DENNIS GRAY STOLL

At the very beginning I feel there are a few misconceptions that should be cleared from our path. First there is the popular fallacy that Indian music is impossibly unscientific and eccentric because it has twenty-two notes within the compass of the western octave. I have sometimes heard English musicians, who should know better, refer to it airily as 'confusing clusters of quarter tones' or a 'muddling microtonal mess'.

It is curious that so few westerners seem to have noticed that the 22 *srutis* of Indian music are precisely the same as the divisions of the European octave before the adoption of Equal Temperament by us in the seventeenth century. Even today our western notation is based on 7 naturals + 7 sharps + 7 flats, which if the final note of the octave is added makes 22 notes. The compromise of Equal Temperament whereby some of our naturals and sharps and flats in practice became the same note was purely a local convenience of harmonic music for gaining access to a greater number of possible modulations. For Indians to have followed suit with their non-harmonic music would have been indeed eccentric and unscientific. India must, of course, keep her 22 *srutis* intact to maintain the true intonation of her modal scales, the melodic integrity of her *raga*.

Indian music is most certainly not a microtonal mess. Where the misunderstanding arose was, perhaps, in western musicians mistaking its intricate microtonal

\* Lecture delivered to the Royal India Society's Music Group

ornaments and graces *gamaḥas* and so forth, for actual notes of the scale. I fear that this microtonal misconception has sunk deep, and needs as much digging out and exposing to the healthy air of reconsideration as our western error in thinking that only our method of voice production is beautiful.

One answer to our vocal prejudice is that Indian singers don't sing through their noses. This typically eastern restraint of theirs is apt to offend many western ears. Not mine, however. The art of singing through the nose has been carried to a fine degree of perfection in the West. But Indian music would have nothing to gain by it. After all, the sensuous attractiveness of the voice has always taken third place to technical suitability and musicianship in India. Our voice production "a Hindu saint said, is like the outward poverty of God, whereby His glory is nakedly revealed. I think it's better that it should remain so."

You may agree that the Indian voice has spiritual loveliness. Or you may feel very English about it. Perhaps you have an enormous conviction that you don't like Indian singers because they do nothing but wail through their noses! If so, it is because your ultra-Englishness has made you love a paradox to the extent of saying the opposite of what you mean. However, a simple experiment, in which you punch your nose and sing, will doubtless convince you of the truth of this nasal matter. Indians normally don't sing through their noses. Englishmen invariably do.

I hope nobody is going to be intimidated by the apparent queeriness of my introduction to the elements of Indian music, because, as with all the cultural elements of India, the queeriness will largely vanish if we make our approach with an Indian outlook. What is the sense of studying Indian music if we intend to remain wholly English? Such a study is bound to be dead unless we bring it alive through our awareness of the other man's point of view.

For instance, there is the question of our attitude to listening. Indians don't normally sit on plush seats, frowning at those who sing their favourite piece, in a sternly critical mood. They sit on the good plain earth and as Tagore said "are content to perfect the song in their own mind by the force of their own feeling." An appreciative Indian audience often cries aloud, intent on getting the last drop of what they call *rasa* from the music they hear. It is as if the music were within them and not outside them, and they were completing it in their own minds and giving audible expression to their fulfilled feelings.

This opens up a wonderful vista—the Hindu theory of musical appreciation through *rasavādāna*, the emotional tasting of spiritual essences. Of course, we all see that music cannot exist for us without perception through the senses. But the Hindu looks beyond that. He sees that all the best Indian music aims in its effect to be supersensuous. *Rasa*-appreciation implies for him a plane of consciousness on which spiritual and physical appreciation become the same thing.

*Rasavādāna* is not an exclusively Hindu idea. Poet-philosophers from Kabir to Tagore, who may be said to have spoken for India rather than for any one religion, have held this theory, too. Putting it into practice comes fairly easily to Indians, but we must be honest with ourselves and admit that it comes hard to most Englishmen. We may reflect with sorrow that creative imagination is not one of our national characteristics. When William Blake declared that he saw angels like stars in trees at Peckham Rye, many of his contemporaries thought of him, not as a great poet who was intent on realizing his poetry in the art of life, but as a great liar or lunatic. One suspects that the vision of angels like stars in trees would upset the nerves of the good, matter-of-fact people of Peckham Rye even today, perhaps almost as much as the sight of flying bombs.

Closely linked with this theory of *rasa*-appreciation is the system of *ragas* on which all Indian melody is built. The word *raga* is derived from the Sanskrit root *ras*, the colouring of emotions. It suggests to Indian ears not only the melodic ground plan of a piece of music, but also gives a definite idea of its mood. *Raga* is, therefore, both a psychological and a technical device.

It would be less than a half-truth to say (and it often is said) that *raga* is the equivalent of the western scale system. More nearly correct to describe it as in some ways similar to the medieval modal system of European music. But even that likeness is far too limited to give a clear picture of what *raga* really is. *Raga* might

perhaps be best described as a mould for melody, having a definite emotional significance in *raga*

In South India there are about 500 types of individual *raga*, each a melody mould of distinctive scale or modal pattern as we might view the matter. The primary *raga* are significantly called Lords of Melody a striking indication of how Indians see them. They number no fewer than 72, and from these 400 odd secondary *raga* are formed by combining in various ways five or more of the notes used in the primary *raga* under which they are grouped

The classification of *raga* in the South differs from the North, where most musicians use what might be described as a family system of six principal *raga*, each having a number of *raginis* or melody mould wives, and putras or sons. Dr Narayana Menon and Dr Bhupen Mukerjee will I hope, be persuaded to enlarge upon their respective systems some time soon. Meanwhile we shall content ourselves by observing that the general principles that apply to southern *raga* apply to the North also. Much of the difference is in name only.

The instinct to embellish a melody is as universal as music itself yet nowhere is it so pronounced as in the non harmonic music of India. Melodic ornaments are natural and necessary to all systems that employ no harmony. The delicate brush work of the Indian *gamakas* grace notes limns the light and shade of a picture in sound, just as the consonance and dissonance of harmony do in western composition.

*Gamakas* are as integral a part of Indian melodic expression as the lips are to the face. Without them a melody cannot smile. *Gamakas* are never imposed upon a tune they grow there as the spontaneous expression of emotion an indication of spiritual emphasis. Fox Strangways rightly insists that "There is never the least suggestion of anything having been added to the note which is graced. The note with its grace makes one utterance."

Instrumental *gamakas* vary from a kind of wail, produced by deflecting the wire of a vina, for instance to elaborate fingered phrases. Some of them seem to require an aural microscope for our unaccustomed western ears to grasp them in detail. Indian ears make hair's-breadth distinctions sensitively attuned as they are to a highly evolved art of pure melody.

The seventeenth-century *Raganibodha*, by the southern musicologist Somanatha, gives examples of fifty grapes, but three times as many more baffle notation. Many *gamakas* are prodigiously subtle as all who have heard good Indian singers and instrumentalists will be aware.

## BROADCASTING IN INDIA

By LIEUT-COLONEL H. R. HARDINGE

THE Post War Planning Committee of H.E. the Viceroy's Council has resolved that the fullest possible use of broadcasting is to be made in furthering all plans for reconstruction after the war, in India. To this end it is essential that there should be more broadcasting stations, but of even greater importance is the need of more receivers of suitable type. With even the limited number of broadcasting transmitters now functioning in the All India Radio organization the vast majority of the population of areas already served by existing broadcasting stations is unable to benefit from these transmissions which are passing overhead, having no receiver.

The provision of additional broadcasting stations is a matter understood to be already decided upon and calls for no particular comment, but that of receivers is not equally satisfactory, and early action is very necessary to secure their supply. Broadcast receivers can be classified under three main heads:

1. Those energized from an electric power supply, commonly known as "all mains" receivers.



2. Those deriving their power from an L.T. accumulator and (usually) an H.T. dry battery and mostly of the portable or semi portable type.
3. Those portable types deriving their power from dry batteries alone for both L.T. and H.T. supply

*Group 1* is the ideal method of reception eliminating all inconvenience of battery replacement and/or accumulator recharging for the user but this type of receiver cannot be used beyond the limits of an electric power supply—i.e., usually the limits of urban and suburban areas or rural areas (such as the Punjab Canal Colonies) where power is available

*Group 2* will serve in those mostly rural areas where there are facilities for charging accumulators within reach or these can be economically provided. A special development of this type of receiver is the village community receiver, designed to furnish a sufficiently large loud speaker output for public address purposes, its scope is limited by the need of accumulator-charging facilities within reach, as in the case of other types in this group

*Group 3* hitherto has had serious limitations. Even a loud-speaker output sufficient only for an average sized room demands an amount of power which derived from dry batteries alone is costly owing to the need to utilize batteries of large capacity which are somewhat expensive and, moreover, even then their life is comparatively short. In fact, for all those areas of India beyond the limits of the availability of convenient accumulator-charging centres, broadcast reception has been economically impracticable for all but the well-to-do, until quite recently. The comparatively recent introduction in Great Britain (since the outbreak of war) of the low consumption 1.5 volt valve has revolutionized this situation. A normal type of receiver sensitive yet robust, incorporating these valves can be run for an average of 300 working hours from one set of dry batteries costing, in Great Britain about fifteen shillings. The output is limited to what will suffice for a room of ordinary size (e.g. for the average small Indian village schoolroom or its equivalent) in technical terms, the output is a quarter of a watt. Assuming the use of such a receiver for three hours daily seven days a week, one set of batteries should last for about 100 days or roundly three months, when a fresh set would have to be substituted and the exhausted batteries thrown away. The saving in transportation costs (outward only and after about three months in the case assumed, as against both ways for recharging and return in the case of accumulators, which moreover have to be recharged every two or three weeks) recharging costs (none for dry batteries acid, distilled water power and skilled supervision for accumulators), and periodical replacement of accumulators (after about three years if their recharging has been regularly and correctly done, and they have been properly treated in all essential respects otherwise probably after a considerably shorter period) will be very substantial. Moreover, the periodical replacement of dry batteries requires no skilled staff the replacements would merely have to be despatched to destination anyone capable of changing a battery in an electric torch could do so in one of these receivers.

In view of all these facts there is no doubt that this type of receiver would enable vast areas of India otherwise inaccessible to broadcasting to be opened up and the scope of the broadcasts greatly extended thus contributing substantially to the plans envisaged by the Post War Planning Committee.

It will no doubt be appreciated that all broadcast receivers intended for use in India, whether all mains, accumulator powered, or of the all-dry battery type, must be suitable both as regards waveband coverage and construction (components as well as cabinets) for Indian technical and climatic conditions. With very few exceptions models produced for Western markets do not meet these requirements.

## SOME BRITISH I ADMIRE

## II—GLADSTONE

BY DR. RANJEE G. SHAHANI

THE railway carriage swayed and its axle squeaked mournfully

Quetta—ta—ta—ta

Then the electric fan which had been behaving quite well began to grumble and groan, as though tired out. Soon it set up an irritating wail but no one seemed to mind.

We had just had a splendid repast—pulla fish pheasant a leg of mutton roasted over wood fire and gently spiced some green vegetables and of course a lot of fresh fruit. But what I particularly recall is the pudding my favourite jelly pudding. How temptingly it floated in cream cooled in ice! It makes me sigh even to think of it. I have tasted nothing so delicious in Europe.

Over salted pistachios and a glass of something silky and fragrant—later on I learned that it was green Chartreuse—the talk turned to politics. This did not interest me a bit, so I withdrew into myself and gradually became conscious of the squeak of the axle and the complaints of the fan. After a time I heard my father say with unusual warmth: 'I'm for Pitt the younger. I think he is the greatest statesman that England has produced. My great uncle stroked his beard reflectively—in those days he affected a partial beard round the chin—and remarked: "Pitt was a dissolute fellow. I rank Burke higher much higher." The third member of the party, a trusted friend of our family and always addressed as Mir Sahib, emptied his glass, refilled it and uttered a name that I now forget. A discussion followed, which seemed to me interminable. Pitt and Burke signified nothing to me at four teen. I was just becoming acquainted with King Canute, Robin Hood and other charming personages. If only the conversation had centred round these or better still round cricket and hockey! Then I could have joined in. For in our family we were encouraged to have an opinion of our own. I did not know whether a statesman was a robber or a priest. It was all beyond me.

There was an English parson in the compartment but he was lying on an upper berth *ronflant comme un tuyau d'orgue*. Suddenly he appeared wideawake and smiled at us. Then, in a deep voice which seemed to come from the bowels of the earth he said: 'Gentlemen, you have been feasting in two senses of the word—satisfying the needs of the body and the needs of the mind. Fine, but allow me to make a remark. What's greatness without goodness? To my mind Gladstone is the finest statesman that our country has produced. Finest I say because apart from his other gifts which be many, he was a true Christian gentleman. Now with the exception of this young man here, who I don't think is a politician, all of us have said our say. Shall we now try to get some rest?'

Certainly, said my father. We didn't think you were such a light sleeper.

Then the fan stopped and the lights went out. In the darkness I could hear the wheels of the train rumbling in unison.

Christian gentle—man, Christian gentle—man

• • • • •

I heard of Gladstone again at school and later at college. In fact, I had to study his life and work for some examination. I filled my notebooks with information about him.

I learned that he was born in 1809 was the son of a wealthy Liverpool merchant, had had his education at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford. At twenty three he was elected to Parliament as a Tory and served his Cabinet apprenticeship under Peel as President of the Board of Trade (1843-45) and as Colonial Secretary (1845-46). He had two dominant interests in life, finance and the Church of England.

After some time in the wilderness, where he was not quite happy, he returned to office in 1852 in a Coalition Government of Whigs and Peelites under the Earl of Aberdeen. From this time onwards he was the leader of Liberalism, first its financial and then its political chief. He was four times Chancellor of the Exchequer and four times Prime Minister. As a politician he had more than his match in Disraeli, as a financier he had no equal in his day. But, curiously enough, he made mistakes in fields where smaller men succeeded.

Gladstone was a tremendous worker. Of the year 1853 John Morley writes

Thirteen, fourteen hours a day he toiled at his desk. Treasury officials and trade experts, soap deputations and post-horse deputations, representatives of tobacco and representatives of the West India interest flocked to Downing Street day by day all through March. If he went into the City to dine with the Lord Mayor, the lamentable hole thus made in his evening was repaired by working till four in the morning upon Customs reform, Australian units, budget plans of all kinds.\*

He prepared his own Budgets, knew every detail from A to Z, and what is more, never forgot them. There is a story that a friend told Gladstone in his later days the incident of a deaf old lady who was overheard vehemently protesting to the Customs officials her innocence of contraband articles the while a musical box was plaintively performing *Home, Sweet Home* beneath the flounces of her skirt. Gladstone listened in mournful silence, and then boomed. And this occurred, you say, last year? It is impossible, monstrously impossible. I myself abolished the duty on musical boxes in the year 1860.†

Almost everybody is agreed that Gladstone was one of the best Chancellors of the Exchequer that England has ever boasted. While not averse to innovation, he conducted the finances of the country on the conservative lines that have made the British Exchequer the admiration of all nations. In handling money he was decidedly a wizard.

In other affairs, however, his efforts were ruined by his extreme emotionalism. His foreign policy was weak and vacillating. In 1881, after Majuba, he made peace with the Transvaal, an action which has been generally condemned and which, according to certain writers, led to the Boer War. He was in 1884 severely criticized for his failure to secure Gordon and for surrendering the Sudan to the Mahdi. Concerning his management of the Home Rule Bill, he conceded too much, it is complained, to expediency, but doing so grudgingly, did so too crudely, and much too late, to secure the desired results.

As an orator Gladstone was superb. His Budget speeches were wonderful—at once lucid and moving. His other addresses were verbose and vague though at the time, because of the magic of his delivery, they passed for masterpieces. Disraeli, however, was not deceived. He touched a tender spot when he referred to Gladstone as inebriated by the exuberance of his own verbosity. He secured another hit when, after the Liberal leader had made a particularly important speech, thumping his dispatch box frequently to emphasize his statements, he thanked heaven the table was between him and the Right Honourable gentleman. Gladstone, always excitable, always sure of being on the side of the angels, thought Disraeli devilish and fit only for the fires of Gehenna. Disraeli, a man of the world if ever there was one, regarded his opponent with amused admiration and ironic indulgence. He thought him too solemn to be wise.

And Gladstone was too solemn. Look at some of the things he has written: *The State and its Relation with the Church*, 1838; *Church Principles Considered in their Results*, 1840; *Remarks on Recent Commercial Legislation*, 1845; *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age*, 1858; and *Homeric Synchronism*, 1876. In 1896 he published an edition of Butler's *Sermons* and *Studies Subsidiary to Works of Bishop Butler*. All this is no food for weaklings. I have opened a tome or two—especially

\* Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, 2, 464.

† Sydney Buxton, *Mr Gladstone A Study* p. 95.

on Homer—and admit that I do not care for this kind of scholarship. It is far more refreshing to read the Shakespearian books of J. M. Robertson, and they are hard enough.

Gladstone's relations with Queen Victoria were far from satisfactory. Not that, in his intercourse with her, he was lacking in courtesy or respect. On the contrary, both in his conversation and his correspondence he showed the utmost reverence, but he failed to realize that the Sovereign was, after all a woman. He treated her as the saying goes, as if she were a public meeting. This antagonized her. There were times when she positively hated him. He, poor man, was deeply mortified. What wrong had he done? So far as he knew, he was blameless. Did he not look upon Victoria to use the words of Lytton Strachey, as a sacrosanct embodiment of venerable traditions—a vital element in the British Constitution—a Queen by Act of Parliament?

\* \* \* \* \*

Books gave me this kind of knowledge and much more to the same effect. But the secret of Gladstone's personality—this remained a sealed chapter to me. It was only later, much later that I understood that facts in themselves are of little consequence, it is their significance that ultimately matters. As Havelock Ellis once said to me, At the end of every investigation one is left with a sheaf of feelings. That is it. A sheaf of feelings. There we have a key that unlocks the heart of man—be he a fool or a genius.

As I see him now an underlying unity constituted the spirit of Gladstone. He thought that life is not a succession of important events followed by unimportant events, but a something that is an ordered experience with a divinely ordained purpose. This is merely another way of saying that the cast and the essence of his mind was essentially religious. In the service of God—that is how he understood everything. He sought power, not for itself, nor for his own aggrandizement, but to do good. His ultimate ambition was to be of service to mankind in general and to his country in particular. Of course he made mistakes, but he never acted from petty, vulgar or dishonest motives. He lived and toiled as it were under the eye of the Almighty. The following lines from Maxim Gorki's *Vasska Busslaev* might almost have come from his mouth:

Ha, were I only endowed with more strength and power  
I'd breathe a hot breath—and make the snows melt!  
I'd go round the earth and plough it through and through!  
I'd walk for years and years and build town after town  
Put up churches without number and grow gardens without end,  
I'd adorn the earth—as though it were a maiden fair  
Clasp it in my arms—as though it were my bride  
Lift it to my heart, and carry it to God  
Just look my God at this earth down here,  
Look how finely Vasska has adorned it!  
You just threw it like a stone into the sky  
While I have made a precious diamond out of it!  
Just look my God and rejoice with me!  
Look how bright it flashes in the sun's rays!  
I'd have given it to you, Lord, as a fine gift—  
Only—no—it would not do—I am too fond of it myself!

The last two lines might seem to some unnecessary—almost impertinent, but I don't think Gladstone would have quarrelled with them. The stranger in the train was right. Gladstone was a true Christian who happened to be also an English gentleman.

## THE INDIAN COMFORTS FUND

By LIEUT.-COLONEL C SHEPHERD, D.S.O. O.B.E.

As it is now more than five years since the Indian Comforts Fund came into being it is thought that a brief recital of its activities, under the chairmanship of Mrs L. S. Amery may be of interest to readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW

Founded in January 1940 by the Dowager Viscountess Chelmsford and Sir Firoz Khan Noon, then High Commissioner, the object of the fund was to minister to all Indian Forces connected with the war effort, whether sailors soldiers airmen or seamen, based on or visiting this country and to fill all gaps and relieve hardship among Indian subjects who were unable to return to India owing to war conditions. Later the scope was extended to embrace Indian prisoners of war in Europe and Indian operational troops overseas.

The fund operates from India House, Aldwych, London by the kindness of successive High Commissioners for India.

### PRISONERS OF WAR

Acting as agents for the Indian Red Cross, the fund has since 1940 accepted responsibility for the packing and despatch of special caste-proof Indian weekly food parcels to P.O.W. in Europe. The weekly total has varied from 300 in June 1940 to 20,000 for a short period in 1943 when a substantial reserve was created at Geneva with the International Red Cross.

The fund has also bought, packed and despatched standard periodical next-of-kin parcels of clothing and comforts to Indian P.O.W. as allowed by International Convention, bearing the cost thereof from June, 1940, up to January 1, 1944. On the latter date the Indian Red Cross assumed full financial responsibility for these parcels also but their assembly and packing is still undertaken by the Comforts Fund at India House.

### WOOLLEN GARMENTS

The fund has organized some 100,000 voluntary knitters in the U.K. into about 2,600 knitting parties, each under a leader, who is supplied with free wool and is required to return the equivalent weight in knitted garments. Gifts of woollen garments from the other organizations, notably the Navy League and the Merchant Navy Comforts Service, have also been generously given and gratefully received.

### INDIAN SEAMEN OF THE MERCHANT NAVY

There are some 30,000 of these who visit home ports every year and each man is given a special clothing parcel provided he has not received one during the previous nine months.

Amenities furniture shower-baths, central heating etc., have also been provided in some of the hostels and clubs ashore and grants of money given for entertainments. Special attention is paid to the needs of Indian seamen patients in hospital.

### OTHER ACTIVITIES

The fund has also been able to be of considerable service to

- The Royal Indian Navy when serving in home waters
- Individual members of the Royal Indian Air Force
- The Indian Contingent, R.I.A.S.C., now returned to India
- The Indian P.W. Reception unit, now in this country
- The Indian Company, Pioneer Corps.
- The Ministry of Labour's Indian Technical Trainees

### OPERATIONAL TROOPS ABROAD

In response to an appeal from India in September, 1944, the Indian Comforts Fund collected 102,000 woollen garments, over and above its normal commitments for despatch to Indian troops in Italy and Egypt.

For the winter of 1945-46 the fund has been asked to supply 83,000 garments for Indian forces now in the field.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The chairman and committee take this opportunity to thank most warmly all those societies, organizations knitting parties and supporters, without whose unfailing help and loyal co-operation such a record of achievement would not have been possible

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THE INDIAN STATES AND THE BRITISH  
COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

By MIR MAQBOOL MAHMOLD

THE Indian States constitute an existing and potential factor of great value to India and the Commonwealth. They comprise about half of India's area with nearly a hundred million population and tremendous resources. Their contribution in the present war as in all crises in the past has been most valuable. Unconditionally and spontaneously they have given of their best in men, money and material in support of the common cause. Over half a million of their forces have fought heroically on the various fronts. This is in addition to their substantial assistance to recruitment to the Indian Army and supply of technicians and labour. All Indian Rulers, big and small, placed their personal services and resources at the disposal of the King Emperor. Many of them have gone personally to the battlefields. Three young Princes lost their lives on active service. As Lord Linlithgow said:

Contributions and offers of personal services, aircraft, buildings, labour, watercraft, machinery, training facilities and medical aid, donations and gifts of every sort and description have continued to pour in from Indian States in an ever widening stream. I cannot speak too highly of the magnificent response made by the Indian States to the urgent needs of this critical time. They have shown unstinted generosity and co-operation, thanks to their help great aerodromes, strategical projects of every kind have sprung up in the territory of the Indian States. Facilities of every kind have been readily granted not only to British and Indian forces but to the forces of our Allies and in particular certain States at the cost of wide stretches of famous forests most carefully guarded in the past, have helped immensely in the training of men in the new scheme of jungle warfare.

This is proof, if proof be needed, of the faith of the Indian States in the British Commonwealth of Nations. This faith, which must be maintained by mutual good will, would be of particular value in the India of the future when the decision to remain with the Commonwealth or to secede would rest with her.

The three main aspects of the problem of the Indian States in the Commonwealth are internal reforms within their territories, their relationship with the Crown, and their position, political and economic in the India of the future. These are examined in the paragraphs that follow, which are concerned mainly with the 140 States whose Rulers are members of the Chamber of Princes. These States, generally speaking, enjoy full or practically full internal powers, and among themselves carry about 95 per cent. of the population area and revenue of the States.

The States do not claim that their constitutions or their administrative arrangements are perfect. There is not one amongst them, however, that has refused to be influenced by the progressive tendencies and movements around them. Some of them

have admittedly been pioneers in many fields of national development. The highest percentage of literacy in India is recorded in an Indian State which is about double the highest percentage for British India. An Indian State led the way in the development of the hydro-electric resources of the country. An Indian State has successfully sponsored the great ideal of a university in an Indian language. The first schools for girls and for English education were started in an Indian State so also were the special schools for the depressed classes. In the development of the country's natural resources, and of its science and art, the Indian States have played a worthy part.

The distinguished Indian statesman Sir V. T. Krishnamacharia, former Prime Minister of the progressive State of Baroda, recently stated that about one-third of the States population enjoyed better social services than those obtaining in British India, one-third received about the same standard of services and one-third were behind British India in administrative efficiency.

In the constitutional field, although the States have developed their systems of Government on indigenous lines, about 76.4 per cent of the total population of the Chamber States possess representative institutions with varying degrees of influence. Nearly 60 per cent of this population have legislatures with a majority of elected members. In about twenty States constitutions are being revised to introduce representative institutions.

The Crown's relations with the States are collectively described by the term *paramountcy*. These do not admit of a rigid definition in legal formulae which could be applied uniformly to all the States. The basic features of paramountcy relationship in the past have been (a) the solemn assurances by successive British sovereigns and Parliaments about the scrupulous observance of treaties and engagements with the Indian States (b) the faith of the Indian Princes in Britain's word for the sanctity of covenants and (c) the fact that in the main Britain has stood by the fundamental obligations to the States. To scrap these treaties unilaterally would be to scrap one of the principles for which we went to war with Germany.

Recent events have caused grave misgivings in the Indian States. These have been due mainly to a tendency of late to lay undue stress on the exigencies of changing times as a factor in unilaterally affecting and interpreting the treaties and the relationship arising thereunder. This claim makes it all the more imperative that such interpretation should be by an impartial tribunal and not by a party to the dispute. The procedure of impartial settlement of disputes is available to the meanest citizen in the British Commonwealth. Its free application was strongly recommended even by the Butler Committee fifteen years ago. It is the basis of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals for world security.

The Indian Princes do not contest paramountcy. They desire the harmonious working and necessary improvements of the existing machinery regarding the exercise of paramountcy. To this end they have made four main suggestions:

- (1) Disputes relating to justiciable issues or to fiscal, financial or economic matters, or to the interpretation of treaties and engagements on such matters, which cannot be settled by negotiation, should be referable to an impartial tribunal.
- (2) The machinery of the Chamber of Princes should be freely consulted by the Viceroy in matters of common concern to the States as was envisaged in the Royal Proclamation inaugurating the Chamber.
- (3) At a time when eight out of eleven members of the Viceroy's Executive Council are British Indian statesmen, the representatives of the States should also be suitably associated with the Crown representative and the Crown Department so that their advice, except in the case of States which may prefer the *status quo*, may be available on important questions affecting the States.
- (4) There should be an effective reiteration of the assurance that the Crown's relationship with the States would not be transferred to any third party without their consent.

The Indian Princes are devoted to His Imperial Majesty, and they rely on Lord Wavell, His Majesty's Government and the Parliament to implement these suggestions.

The Cripps offer postulates an Indian Union which will constitute a Dominion of the type adumbrated in the Statute of Westminster. The States as well as the Provinces will be entitled to appoint representatives to the proposed constitution-making body and thereafter it will be open to them to adhere or not to adhere to the new Union. The non-adhering Provinces are given the further right, should they so desire, to retain their existing constitutional position or to agree upon a new Constitution giving them the same full status as the Indian Union.

Sir Stafford told the States Delegation that the contingency of a separate Union or Unions of the States had not been considered in connection with the draft Declaration, but he personally did not see any fundamental impossibility in the suggestion, and agreed to raise the point on his return. It is obvious that a Union of States would imply no more fundamental change in the States' relationship with the Crown than would be involved in a union with British India on the basis of Dominion status.

It need hardly be emphasized that the existence of such a provision which would place the States at par with the Provinces for constitutional negotiations need not necessarily lead to the setting up of a separate Union or Unions of the Indian States. In fact speaking generally, the Indian Princes would make their fullest contribution towards evolving an All India Union which may be acceptable to them and to other elements in India. His Highness of Bhopal has stated publicly that the Princes yield to none in patriotism and love for their country. They wish to see her great and honoured filling in her own right a position in the comity of the world to which her history and the achievements of her people entitled her.

As regards industrial development the States have made it clear that they are prepared to work together with British India for the country's greater advancement and prosperity. They must, however, see that impediments are not placed on the legitimate development of their own resources and that there is no discrimination against their peoples. The Indian States like British India must look primarily to the development of those resources to provide necessary revenues for the growing requirements of progressive administration and for raising the standard of living of their people. With a few notable exceptions the States have still a long way to go before they can hope to reach even the stage of industrial development attained by the rest of India. In fostering their young industries in the nascent stage they are actuated with no feeling of rivalry with much less hostility towards British India. They have accordingly suggested that until such time as an All India constitution is framed their representatives may be associated with the Government of British India in the formulating and implementation of policies with which their co-operation is desired.

There is also much scope for Indo-British partnership in the industrial development of the States. Experiments already tried have been most fruitful. The British industrialists would be well advised not to confine their technical skill and other industrial co-operation to any particular region or party in India. Diversified activity would help them and India as a whole.

The Indian States have a great part to play in the India of the future and in the counsels of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Indian Princes realize that events in India and abroad are moving fast and that no constitutional safeguards can protect them and their dynasties unless they buttress the foundations of their heritage on the enduring devotion of the people by their growing association with the governance of the States. The leaders of the British Indian parties also must recognize that the Indian States have to be assured their due place in the India of the future. The task of constructive statesmanship is to integrate these two Indias together and to foster a tradition of trust leading to progress. England can and should assist towards this development, and above all she must remove the feeling which is growing in India that nuisance value counts for more with her than friendship.



## A WEEK IN IONIA

BY G E BEAN

At the end of September, 1944, by arrangement between the Turkish authorities and the British Council, I left Izmir with my friend Rüstem Bey Director of the Archaeological Museum there, for a rapid tour of the ancient sites in the region of Miletus. We started out, not with the sanguine hope of making any startling discoveries, but with the object of inspecting the sites and reporting on their present condition. The days, indeed, of startling discovery by mere inspection are now past in this part of the world. There was a time, a hundred years ago, when Charles Fellows could walk up to a pile of ruins, known only to the local villagers and write in his journal:

This place is called in the maps *Pınara*, but from the inscriptions I discovered it to be *Tlos*. Those days are gone but much, very much, still lies hidden in the soil of Ionia for patient (and expensive) excavation to reveal.

Our route took us first to Soke, terminus of a branch line of the Aydın railway. Here we installed ourselves in the hotel, which proved to be cleaner than it looked (The word *clean* as applied to a bed, is understood in these parts to refer not to the sheets but to the mattress and its possible occupants). Our next business was to charter an *araba* which was to be our principal conveyance. *Araba* is a general word in Turkish for any kind of wheeled vehicle from a bullock-cart to a tram or a jeep; in our case it meant a species of phaeton cab. The chartering occupied about an hour. Negotiation of this kind is an art that requires to be learnt by the foreigner but Rüstem Bey proved himself a master of it. The essential thing is to take time. Remember that the other man is enjoying it: he will no doubt lower his price in the end, but you must not expect him to do it until he has explained to you all the reasons why he cannot, and has heard all your reasons why he should several times over. He will also want to know who you are, where you come from, where you are going to, and why. If you appear in a hurry, or show impatience you will fluster and perhaps offend him. You can of course accept his price and have done with it, but you stamp yourself as an utter foreigner: you will be better friends if you talk it over and agree to a lower one. Time is of little consequence: if today is consumed by the discussions there is always tomorrow. We agreed at last upon a satisfactory figure and made a far better bargain than we knew. Hasan our driver proved to be invaluable: cheerful and competent, and his horses were first rate.

We left Soke the next morning, our first principal objective being the seldom visited site of Heraclea-under Latmus. This lies at the east end of the lake Bafa Gölü, the *bastard sea* which was once a gulf of the Aegean but in the last two thousand years has been cut off from it by the silt of the Mæander and now lies a good ten miles inland. There is no road round the lake, so we made for Serçin Koy at its west end, where boats are to be had. We crossed the Mæander at San Kemer by a narrow stone bridge unfenced and built so low in the water that in winter it is entirely submerged. This however is of less account, as in winter the roads are submerged too. Every year the Mæander rises in flood, and its valley fifteen kilometres wide, is crossed only by boat.

At Serçin we were expected, and were at once made at home in the village guest room, over the usual cups of coffee arrangements were leisurely made for our use of a boat on the following days. Hasan and the *araba* with instructions to come for us on the fourth morning early went back to Söke.

In the afternoon we paid a hasty visit to the site of the ancient Myus which lay as we were informed in the village, only an hour's ride on horseback to the north. Horses and a guide were soon procured, but it was a full, and for me long, two hours before we arrived. Rüstem Bey however rode with the assurance of long familiarity acquired as an officer in the army. The site, which is very little known to travellers, proved more interesting than we had hoped. On a rock-cut terrace, below the Byzantine castle which marks the site from a distance of several miles, there once stood a fine Doric temple, perhaps the same temple of Dionysus for which the city

was celebrated. The adjoining hill is covered with countless rock-cut houses. We should have liked to investigate further but my execrable horsemanship had delayed us too long as it was, it was well after dark before I tumbled gratefully off my equally grateful mount in Serçin.

Early next morning we walked down to the landing-stage. Our boat proved to be a *sandal*, like a large rowing-boat or small caique. It carried a sail but as there was no wind the entire eleven miles had to be covered with the oars—hard work, as the boat was clumsy, the sun hot, and the water for a mile or so from the shore, thick with weed. The north side of the lake is dotted with islands covered with Byzantine ruins, and highly picturesque, we landed on each but they were not our real concern, and we pressed on to Heraclea.

The site of this city is wild and rugged in the extreme. It lies on a rocky spur of Mt Latmus which rising from the lake-side, is split and cracked into every fantastic shape as it runs up to the main mass behind. All up this uninviting ridge, from sea-level to well over a thousand feet, climbs the wall of the ancient city in beautiful masonry of the third century A.C. strongly reinforced with towers. Its state of preservation is excellent nowhere else perhaps can a better idea be obtained of the Greek style of fortification. In the lower part of the town are a few scanty patches of more or less level ground and here are the public buildings, temples, market-place, council hall, theatre and the rest. There is also the modern village. In the middle of the market place lately a cornfield a school is in process of erection at the time of our visit the foundations only were in place but already a number of ancient blocks had been appropriated. This form of vandalism is now strictly prohibited by the Turkish Government but in a remote site like this the temptation is often too great there are the blocks conveniently shaped and lying handy they are needed for a useful and practical purpose where is the sense of letting them lie for the sake of visitors who come perhaps once every four or five years? On all the larger and better known sites a guardian is now officially appointed to protect the antiquities and keep them clean this is not meant to be a full time job and he generally does not actually do very much perhaps it is better that he should not try but his presence is a reminder that there is a law on the matter and that he will get into trouble if it is disobeyed. The monuments of antiquity (this is not always realized) have suffered far more through human than through natural agency. Earthquakes are of course a powerful cause of ruin but far less devastating than the hand of man. Plundering of blocks for building lost us the Mausoleum, gunpowder wrecked the Parthenon, iconoclasm will not bear thinking of but perhaps the insidious lime kiln has even more to answer for. By an unfortunate provision of nature marble has the property of making excellent lime.

We slept that night at the little village of Mersinet. Travel in the interior of Turkey, though now perfectly safe cannot yet be called comfortable but on one thing you can rely—unfailing hospitality wherever you go. You arrive quite unannounced at some tiny village towards nightfall obviously you will pass the night there. There is no fuss, no complaint of inconvenience you are guests *misafir* sent by the will of Allah, and simple hospitality the best the village affords is automatically yours. Payment is out of the question. Every village has its guest-room to this you are conducted, and introduced to the headman the *hoca* and the schoolmaster if there is one. Lamps are brought, and very soon a hot meal makes its appearance cooked, but not served by the womenfolk and is placed on the floor. While you eat the villagers one by one slip into the room and with a polite greeting squat down near the door which part of the room soon becomes crowded and late comers stand in the doorway. Conversation is general but in practice is mostly conducted between you and the three dignitaries mentioned, the topics are always the same—your history your movements past and intended the local crops school roads prices and the rest. Sometimes the war news also, and if you can explain in what direction England lies from Germany the information will be gravely and attentively received.

Our reception at Mersinet was friendly above the average but the beds, alas, were the least clean that we met with and we rose rather the worse for wear. The whole day was spent at Heraclea, the larger part being occupied by the ascent. The wall seemed to go on and up for ever towers, stairs, parapet, doors and windows

in wonderful preservation perched on the tumbled masses of rock that culminate high above in the jagged crest of Latmus. The ancient legend tells how Endymion slept on this mountain and the moon, looking down, felt her chilly heart warmed by his beauty, and came down and kissed him as he slept, rendering his sleep eternal. As a matter of statistics, Latmus is well under 1,400 metres, but it seems to reach the sky. Endymion had a sanctuary in the city which still remains, and is one of the most remarkable monuments in Ionia. Everything about Heraclea is calculated to impress only its history is a virtual blank.

I delayed long on the site, deaf to Rüstem Bey's admonitions, he was in the right, for as it was contrary to etiquette to trespass for a second night unannounced on the hospitality of Mersinet, we were obliged to stumble up the road in the dark for a long four miles to the larger village of Bafa. As we walked I enquired the time of our Turkish companion and was surprised to learn that it was twenty past one: this was my first introduction to the *a la Turka* method of reckoning time, which is still quite usual in country parts: sunset is always twelve o'clock. I remarked on the apparent inconvenience of this system: obviously a watch which is right by the sunset today will be wrong tomorrow, and the hands will have to be altered every day, or at least very often: but my companion would not have it. No: it is *a la Franga* which alters: *a la Turka* is always the same—twelve o'clock is sunset. My Turkish was not equal to so subtle a discussion, so I let it go: but I fear that the *a la Turka* system, a genuine relic of ancient days, cannot be destined to survive very long. The radio is quickly spreading even to the remote places, and time-signals are given *a la Franga*.

In contrast to our previous night's experience, the beds at Bafa were clean, but our reception was cooler. This was my fault, as guests are not expected to arrive after dark: there was some delay before the village room was opened for us, and we crept away at daybreak without the usual farewells.

On returning to our boat at Mersinet, we found that our party had received an accession in the person of a Turk of uncertain extraction, of the vagabond type which cadges its way from place to place, and lives upon what it can beg, borrow, steal or find. Our man at first made some attempt to justify his presence by helping to sail the boat, but he was soon requested to desist and finally paid for his passage with a Turkish song which I, for one, would willingly have foregone. With a variable south breeze we made the return journey in three hours.

Back in Sercin we indulged in a shave and that night to the amused curiosity of the villagers, I brought out my pyjamas. Rüstem Bey would not consent to make himself so ridiculous. I cannot say that I slept any the better. Next morning true to his appointment, Hasan was outside with the *araba* at eight o'clock.

Our route now lay among the familiar sites, the show-places of Ionia, Didyma and Priene. For a tour of this kind a cab is no bad conveyance: it is comfortable, you can see the country, and, above all, it does not go too fast. But you need a fair and not too hilly road. If you like pomegranates, and they happen to be in season, take one with you: the finicking operation of picking out the edible parts passes the time pleasantly and the pips go conveniently into the road: but one is quite enough. We passed by Dalian where the fish of Bafa Gölü are efficiently but rather ignobly snared in a wicker-work contraption barring the stream which flows out of the lake: we bought two or three, still gasping and had one of them for lunch. Rüstem Bey cooked it on an improvised grill of split cane under the walls of the theatre at Miletus. This trick also he learnt on his military service.

The theatre of Miletus is superb. Go to Priene and see what a pure Greek theatre of the Macedonian period was like, then cross the river to Miletus and see what it grew into when the solid and grandiose genius of Rome was blended with the artistry of Greece. These two theatres facing each other across the Mæander valley, are the finest extant examples of their respective types. In the upper gallery of the Miletus theatre is an inscription recording a strike by the workmen, and its settlement by appeal to the neighbouring oracle of Apollo at Didyma. The response, in hexameters, is recorded on the stone, couched in appropriately vague terms. Use wisdom and skill and the advice of a man clever with his hands and sacrifice to Athena and Heracles. Rather unhelpful counsel, it might appear: but presumably it served its purpose, or it would hardly have been engraved for posterity to read.

Inscriptions of this sort are out of the ordinary. On any Greek city site, or at least on any that has been dug, inscriptions are generally plentiful, but ninety per cent. of them are either honorary dedicatory or funerary. "The Council and the People honoured so-and-so with a golden crown and a statue of bronze," or with immunity from taxes and a front seat in the theatre, "So-and-so, son of so-and-so, dedicated the column to Apollo or the proscenium to Dionysus, or the stoa to the Emperor and the People. Thousands of names, women as well as men, but hardly one known to history. The funeral stela—that is, tombstones—are also confined to a few recurrent types, but they are far from uninteresting. The commonest type is blunt and practical. This tomb is the property of so-and-so; if anyone injures it, or buries anyone else in it, let him be accursed in the sight of the gods above and the gods below, and pay 2,000 drachmae to the city treasury. Or, So-and-so built this tomb for himself and his family and anyone else whom he has admitted. He lives. This last clause is not the equivalent of our not lost but gone before; it means what it says: the owner is alive and will take proceedings against any usurpation. Sentimentality of any kind is quite foreign to the classical period. Here lies so-and-so—dearly beloved son, naturally, but the stone does not say so, only late, and under Christian influence. Here sleeps is substituted. Sometimes the epitaph is in verse: an address to the wayfarer of a type often seen in our own churchyards. Laugh and be gay, O passer-by, seeing that you too must die. But the most pleasing is the conversation between the wayfarer and the dead man, and the more appropriate as ancient tombs were normally placed at the roadside. The style is generally colloquial, here is the sort of thing—an epitaph on a Greek boy now in the museum at Bursa. A tomb, I see. Whose? I wonder?—Cladus was the name—Your father now, who was he?—Menophilus, but, you see, I died. —How was that?—I caught a chill—And your age?—Thirteen.—A scholar, eh?—Well, no, not exactly. In fact, I never made much of my schooling. And so forth: there is more on the stone, but it is now illegible.

There is much else at Miletus besides the theatre, but in comparison with that giant the rest seems a little tame and of interest chiefly to the specialist. You must keep reminding yourself that the city was a port, the mother of a hundred colonies, and that the now distant sea then washed the foot of the hill. The harbour was guarded by two marble lions, emblem of the city and normal type on her coins; we found one of the two lying forlorn and sadly battered among the bushes where the harbour once was, we looked for the other but did not find it. A little to the west a low hill rises from the plain: it is strange to realize that this is the famous island of Lade, which in 494 B.C. saw the naval defeat of the Greeks by the Persians and the final collapse of the ill-starred Ionian Revolt. That revolt was the earliest of many attempts to free the Greek cities of Asia from the dominion of Persia; it failed partly owing to the defection of the Athenian allies, but much more one suspects from Herodotus' account, because the cities themselves had no real zest for the business. Freedom was always an attractive ideal, but the Ionians had little heart to fight for it. They seem to have been on the whole quite happy under the Persians. A little later Athens succeeded in liberating them for a time, but their gratitude was not enthusiastic. After Lade, Miletus, whose governor Aristagoras had been the instigator of the revolt, met with such punishment from the Persians that in a century and a half she barely recovered in time to resist the final liberator, Alexander, and be destroyed again. Again she recovered and in the Roman period was still a flourishing city: witness the mighty theatre, the baths and other monuments; but little by little the sea withdrew, the harbour filled up, and Miletus saw her livelihood slipping from her. For a long time, all through the Middle Ages, indeed she kept going with the help of a scale on the receding seashore, only under the Ottoman Turks was her commerce with the West finally broken, and she quickly sank to the little inland village, riddled with malaria, which occupies the site today.

From Miletus we drove to Didyma by the delightful coast-road, past the little harbour of Panormus, where the pilgrims used to land, but now looking sadly desolate, and up the line of the Sacred Way to the temple itself. The temple of Didyma is generally reckoned the most spectacular monument in Ionia. Like the Olympieum at Athens, it is so large that it was never quite finished: it was begun about 300 B.C.,

and four hundred years later the Roman Emperors were still at work on it. The faces of many of the blocks are still rough, with the masons' lettering still visible on them, and a number of the columns, over a hundred in all, were never fluted. There was an earlier temple on the site, destroyed by the Persians after the battle of Lade. Every visitor looks with interest at the central chamber of the temple, for here was the famous oracle of Apollo, whose ministry was hereditary in the family of the Branchidae—the second oracle in celebrity, perhaps, of the ancient world. There was a moment in history when it might have become the first. Croesus, king of Lydia, had it in mind to attack the Persian Empire, being doubtful of his chances, he thought it wise to consult the oracle first. But which oracle? Only the best would do and that only if its reliability were proved in advance. He accordingly prepared a kind of qualifying test, a trial question, to be submitted simultaneously to the leading oracles of the world. What is King Croesus doing at this moment? To make it really hard, he resolved to be boiling a lamb and a tortoise in a cauldron. The oracles, rather to our surprise (but Croesus was rich as well as powerful), swallowed the insult and did their best. Delphi got it right and Croesus, after making a handsome presentation, put his momentous question there. He was rewarded with the celebrated masterpiece of ambiguity that led him to destruction. The responses of the unsuccessful candidates are not recorded, so we do not know how near the Branchidae got, but the Asiatic Apollo lost a great chance of ascendancy over his Delphic counterpart. The story is familiar, and raises in an acute form that perpetually tantalising question, how did the oracles do it? How did they manage to satisfy their clients century after century? Various reasons have been suggested: judicious obscurity, mesmerism, a worldwide Intelligence Service, even genuine inspiration, but perhaps there is really nothing to explain. Human nature is curiously willing to be deceived, and one success will make up for many failures. Old Moore still has his public. If it be asked, how Delphi knew about the lamb and the tortoise I have always suspected that the king, full of his ingenious plan, was unable to keep it to himself and let it out one evening, after his envoys had left. At Delphi we are told the Pythia gave her answer (in hexameters too) even before the question was put, which seems perhaps suspiciously prompt.

Didyma was our furthest point, and we returned through Miletus to Priene and Soke crossing the Mæander by a species of grind that put one in mind of the Cam. Our vagabond friend made a sudden reappearance at Miletus and began to angle for another free ride but he got no encouragement. Priene is reasonably accessible to travellers, being less than two hours from Soke and is often visited. When next you go, give yourself time, and, if you have a fair head for heights, make the ascent of the acropolis. Priene is quoted as the clearest example of the lay-out of an ancient town, and from the cliff above you can see it to perfection. Long parallel streets lined with houses, short stepped cross-streets up and down the hillside, and the public buildings grouped in the centre. A deep gutter runs down the middle of the High Street. You can feel almost at home in Priene, here is a real town, not just an assortment of ruins. Wander among the houses, you can walk over the threshold-stone and pass from room to room, visit the gymnasium, and notice the pupils' names carved on the wall, sit in the theatre, and you have (*pace* Dorpfeld) a real stage before your eyes. No one easily forgets a visit to Priene.

From Soke a five-hour train journey took us to Sultanhisar for Nysa-ad Mæandrum, the last site on our programme. The visible remains here are less impressive, largely because the site has been very little excavated, but the place has a peculiar interest, since the geographer Strabo, who studied here in the time of Augustus, has left us a short description of the town as he knew it. His account can still be followed on the spot, but the monuments have suffered with time. The best preserved is the Hall of the Elders, with a council chamber resembling a small theatre: but the most remarkable is the amphitheatre. The town was divided in the middle by a deep ravine with a stream at the bottom. The banks of the stream are perpendicular to a considerable height, and the space between them, some 100 feet wide, was bridged over for a distance of perhaps 250 yards to form the arena, the seats were on the steep slopes of the ravine above. A few of the seats are still visible, but the rest of this colossal work has almost entirely disappeared, having presumably collapsed into the

stream and been carried away. But for Strabo's description it would require a bold effort of the imagination to reconstruct it. The conception, however, is not unique: it is paralleled at Pergamum, Cyzicus and elsewhere. Nysa, though very easily accessible, is little known to European travellers, before long, we may hope, it will be properly excavated, and will certainly well repay the slight trouble of a visit.

Our tour was now at an end, and we parted finally on the station platform at Ephesus: our business satisfactorily concluded. If you are contemplating a similar tour, see that your shoes are really good and stout, but razor and pyjamas can be left at home.

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## ASIA PRESENTED

BY WINIFRED HOLMES

### I—ASIA ON THE AIR

As the war with Japan increases in intensity more and more radio time is taken up with authoritative talks on strategy—land, sea and air. Two of these talks to Home Service listeners during the last quarter were of special interest—Half way to Tokio, by Lieut. Frank Rounds and Future Strategy in the Pacific by the famous US Naval commentator Paul Schubert.

Lieut. Rounds' dramatic opening 'Ten million square miles retaken in the Pacific! Ten million square miles to go!' led him to describe the fantastically complicated problems of logistics thus bounding from island to island and archipelago to archipelago on the part of the Allies involves. In Pacific warfare nearly 10 tons of cargo equipment and supplies must be landed for every single soldier who hits the beach. These supplies include seven hundred thousand different items from buttons and needles and thread to tanks and planes and railway locomotives. To land a quarter of a million men on an enemy beach in the Pacific the Navy must unload at the same time over one and a half million tons of supplies. And to keep those men there for only thirty days almost half a million more tons must be supplied.

But the choice and amount of the supplies needed are only the beginning of the difficulties involved. There are no ready-made ports such as Cherbourg and Antwerp: no warehouses, magazines, oil tanks or refrigerator facilities. When landings are made on jungle beaches these millions of tons of supplies have to be handled by methods as crude as those Robinson Crusoe had to use to get his stuff out of the wreck. And there are hurricanes there that beat down on men as they struggle with the equipment on their bare backs. And the tropical climate to do its work of deterioration.

To those people who incautiously express the opinion that Japan will crack easily once the European war is over and the Allies can turn their full attention to the task of defeating her it must have been salutary to hear from this authoritative speaker that 'The second ten million miles to go to Tokio are likely to be even tougher than the first. Today it is estimated that Japan has an army of four million men and a normal replacement of nearly a quarter of a million men a year. She can still increase her production in war equipment and supplies. She has been conserving her air power and improving her aircraft. Her planes of every type today have greater fire power, armament, range, load capacity and high speed than ever before. Aircraft of the US Navy no longer have such a technical advantage as they had a few months ago.'

Paul Schubert also stressed the importance of the Japanese Army. Not only is it the instrument of Japanese aggression, but also the controlling factor in Japanese political and domestic life. The Japanese Navy is the servant of the Army, intended to keep supply lines open and to prevent hostile armies from coming up in sufficient strength to challenge the Japanese Army. For the ultimate defeat of

Japan many observers think it will be necessary to challenge the Army on Chinese soil, and that the simple invasion—even conquest—of the home islands will not be enough. But in planning either invasion the Philippines will unquestionably play much the same rôle that the British Islands did in building up the assault on Germany—a large off-shore base protected by our sea and air power in which invasion troops can be equipped and trained and from which large-scale bombing can be carried out.

American radio commentators are already speculating on the possibility of Russia entering the Far Eastern war when her non-aggression pact with Japan expires at midnight on April 24th. But they also point out that whether she renews the pact for another five years or not, the Russian front ties up hundreds of thousands of first-class Japanese troops, which in itself is a great advantage to the Allies.

In purely human terms the talk which had the sharpest impact was by Drummer H. F. Wilson on his own treatment and experiences during two and a half years as a prisoner of war in Japanese hands. Don't worry too much, he said; our greatest wish was for you not to worry. The Japanese ill-treated us only if they caught us not working. If a fellow is ever slapped by a Japanese it's not usually because he wants to be cruel or to torture you. It's the fact that they've always been used to be beaten themselves. They punish their own soldiers by slapping them, and they think we should be punished in the same way.

Rest day—*Yasumi* day—is Thursday, and the prisoners used to organize cricket or football matches and concerts in the evening. They worked too hard and were too self-reliant to be bored, but the worst was, he said, to wake up in the morning after dreaming of home. That depressed men, as there was no chance of escaping.

When I got a letter—I had twenty-seven from the wife in my two and a half years, in two batches—I felt I couldn't eat for a week. I was so excited. I read it over and over again and put it under my pillow. You do things like that.

The greatest hardship this prisoner experienced was one particular march—eighty-five miles in six days. One day at Kanburi one man dropped dead with exhaustion. Our C.O. said to the Japanese Commandant: They're not in a condition to march, they're all exhausted and have got blisters on their feet. The Japanese said: Do you know I can have you shot for refusing to march? And our officer said: You'd better shoot me then, because they're not marching. And we didn't march. He was a very good man, Lieut.-Colonel Lilley. Everybody knows him from one end of Thailand to the other. He was a man that even the Japanese looked up to.

While at Tamowan, the lowest camp in Thailand, the prisoners were told that three thousand of the fittest were wanted for Japan. It was not stated what for.

You should see how they doped us up for this trip. They dished us out with cotton pants of every colour—green, lemon, pink, pale mauve and bright blue—and ankle-socks and a green coat. The green trousers they gave us to match the coat wouldn't fit a child of twelve, we couldn't get our legs in them, and so we had to do with the cotton pants. All on parade, we marched to the station in this new gear—all colours of the rainbow. And so they arrived in Singapore.

While in convoy, Drummer Wilson's ship was torpedoed, and five days later he was picked up on a raft and eventually came home to tell his tale.

Sir Sultan Ahmed made a constructive contribution to the vexed problem of India's future in his talk in the Home Service. After the war, he said, India will have to decide whether to associate freely with the other partners of the British Commonwealth or to launch upon total independence. "The indivisible" world of the post-war period will be guided by three great powers—Russia, America and Great Britain, and of these India has most links with the British Commonwealth.

She is drawn towards this group by something deeper than politics. We share common ideals, common tasks and common standards without leaving off one iota of our own traditions and characteristics. We have a common legal system and conception of justice which includes the great principle of civil liberty—our liberty of the subject.

Having made his plea for joining the free association of the Commonwealth group of nations, Sir Ahmed puts the case for a 'permanent Commonwealth

Advisory Council with a Secretariat. Diplomatic exchanges would proceed continuously, but the Council should meet for regular sessions in rotation in the various Dominion capitals. Periodically a British Commonwealth Congress, which would take the place of the old Imperial Conference, would meet to consider major problems. The B B C is to be congratulated on giving a forum to such constructive thinking on post war affairs.

Lastly Francis Merton, relief worker with the Friends Ambulance Unit, told a fascinating traveller's tale of the "Country of the Panda" the little-known border land west of Chungking, home of the Chiangs, who live poor but happy lives in smoke-blackened flat-roofed houses crowded together and perched precariously on the sides of the mist-towering mountains where the panda and other wild animals live. Among the flat roofs of the houses are narrow, tapering watch-towers, looking in the distance like factory chimneys, and something like the towers of San Gimignano now razed by the Germans. These towers are merely historic relics today, but in the time of the Border wars the people would climb up them by means of a notched stick—women, children, animals and all—and stay there above the fighting until the soldiers went away.

The people live on the maize and buckwheat they grow, and the older members of the community spin and weave flax and make clothes for the others. The Chinese people are gradually bringing all this Border region under their control. All the children who can, go to school and learn to read and write Chinese. But in the old Chiang villages where there is still little Chinese influence life is very simple. Pleasures are simple and they are a very happy people. Long may they remain so in this present world of conflict and suffering.

## II—ASIA AND THE CINEMA

The new edition of *The March of Time*, *Inside China Today*, has some magnificent scenes, taken by cameramen on the spot, of life in that war torn, economically-ravaged country. Politically the film skates over the thin ice of the relationship between the Communist North and the democratic ideals claimed by the Government of the Generalissimo. On the whole it gives the Generalissimo the benefit of the doubt, and makes the most of the Committee's statement that, although the dictatorship of the Kuomintang has been necessary under the pressure of war, the Committee regards itself as the trustee of China's democratic future and has promised to put a new constitution into effect after the war's end.

It gives some interesting facts and figures about the reformed Hsien system which the National Government has developed during the last two years in her two thousand counties. This reformed Hsien system, a Chinese version of the Hindu panchayat, or local government on a wide scale, is in operation in 80 per cent. of Free China. Out of this system may well grow a new democratic ideal in the China of the post war world.

The difficulties of waging war on a modern scale in China are greater than most people realize here. For instance, as the film commentator points out, her lack of modern transportation is crippling: her roads only total fifty thousand miles, and her railways less than a thousand—and this in a country whose size is fabulous.

The most interesting section of the film, because few cameramen go there to record it, is that dealing with the Communist North. Here thousands of square miles are controlled by Mao Tsetung and his Communist armies of half a million troops, many of them seasoned and skilful warriors. Eighty million people come under Mao's jurisdiction, which he holds in defiance of the Kuomintang. Here the press is controlled and a strict censorship of news and views is in operation. They do all their own printing and have their own money.

But in spite of the somewhat superficial handling of the delicate political situation in China, pictorially the film is one of the best. *The March of Time* have made recently unforgettable are many of the shots of the patient, long-suffering and hard-working peasants and workers in the dispersed war industries, and the commentary pays warm tributes to the Chinese peasant, voicing the feelings of admiration and sympathy which most of us feel towards him.



Among the short films the Ministry of Information is making about the Far Eastern war is the delightful 'Fijian Return'. Some of the bravest soldiers of the battle of the Solomons were volunteers from the Fiji Islands, magnificent specimens of their race. Side by side with the Australians they took part in the bloodiest of the fighting and in the film they can be seen returning in triumph to their people.

Burma Magazine is a compilation film of life and conditions on the Burmese Front. Made especially for the Ministry's non-theatrical circuit it is designed for relations of the men serving there. 'The Forgotten Army' is no longer forgotten these days.

Among long films 'The Story of Dr Wassell' is the most memorable and worth mentioning here. Based on the true story of an Arkansas doctor, Dr Corydon Wassell, who spent years in China doing special research work on the germ of plague, and who joined the American Navy as ship's doctor on the cruiser *Marblehead* one of the casualties of the gallant battle of the Java Seas, the film shows him taking charge of the wounded survivors with the utmost devotion, caring for them through pitiless Japanese bombing and, against superior orders, finally getting them embarked for home when Java fell.

In spite of the slightly oleaginous effect of the Technicolour tropics and the crude attempts to insert comedy for the sake of that ubiquitous god of the cinema, the box-office, the film does pay high tribute to the courage and devotion of the Dutch and of the Javanese. The Javanese nurses, although so trim and exquisite that they look as though they were ready for a New York revue chorus, are portrayed as properly trained, quiet, efficient nurses whose courage and sense of duty to the wounded in their charge never fail in spite of the terrible ordeals they go through. And the Dutch—there will be a special place in heaven for the Dutch, says Dr Wassell, saying farewell to the Dutch Lieutenant, Dirk, who has helped him to get his wounded sailors finally embarked for home and leaving him to make with quiet dignity and typically Dutch restraint a last forlorn stand against the overwhelming forces of the invading enemy.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### LINGUISTIC DEVELOPMENT IN CHINA

CHINESE SENTENCE SERIES. By W. SIMON, PH.D. and C. H. LU, PH.D. (*Arthur Probstham*). Part I 8s. 6d. Part II 10s. 6d. net. Chinese-English Vocabulary 3s. 6d. net, interleaved, 4s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by E. M. GULL.)

These volumes, of which Part II is the Chinese text of Part I together with the vocabulary accompanying them, represent an important change in the teaching of Chinese in England, a change correlative to recent linguistic development in China. Dr Simon, to whose enterprise and industry the change is mainly due, is Reader in Chinese in the University of London. In compiling these sentences he had the co-operation of Dr C. H. Lu, formerly Lecturer in the University's School of Oriental and African Studies, and in producing a Chinese text, that of Mr Tsui Chi, who is responsible for the script. The first draft of the vocabulary was made by Mrs H. M. Wright, temporary lecturer in Chinese at the school.

To explain the significance of their work a prefatory word or two about Chinese as a language is necessary. Spoken Chinese has remarkably few sound groups or syllables. There used long ago to be more than there are today, but now, apart from differing intonations with which words are pronounced, there are little more than 400. Very many words having quite different meanings are distinguishable from one another in speech only by intonation, while not a few with different meanings are not distinguishable either by pronunciation or intonation.

In North China there are four distinct intonations, or tones, comparable with those in which our word *dead* is spoken when used unemotionally in a statement of fact when expressed as a question when used with the prolongation of astonishment blended with incredulity, or when used with tragic-like acceptance of finality. Other parts of China have more than four intonations, while the Chinese spoken in Shanghai and innumerable other places, mostly south-east of the Yangtze, differs in pronunciation from northern Chinese so much as to be, aurally speaking, a different language.

When written, words are not represented by letters, for there is no alphabet, but by symbols, which are in part pictographic, in part ideographic. These symbols generally called characters, have a very long history their original forms differing greatly from the present ones, which date only from the beginning of our era. There are many thousands of characters, those most frequently used in ancient and modern literature, however numbering between four and five thousand only. In correlation with the spoken language, some characters have more than one intonation, their meanings differing therewith, while many with only one intonation also have different meanings, or different shades of the same meaning. Conversely, not a few characters, having when spoken exactly the same sound are written differently and have different meanings, the various *lo* for example in the second and fourth tones, or the various *shên* in the third tone. Every spoken word has a corresponding character but Chinese written in literary style employs characters embodying words, and still more often phrases seldom in some cases never used in ordinary colloquial. Indeed literary and spoken Chinese differ from one another as much as the spoken Chinese of North China differs from that of the South. On the other hand written Chinese has the same meaning all over China so that a literate Pekingese and a literate Cantonese though often if not generally quite unable to understand one another's speech can always understand one another's written communications. As disunited as Europe as far as speech is concerned China is much more united than Europe in and by her script.

These characteristics make Chinese seem, perhaps a clumsy language. One has indeed heard it so described but generally by persons not markedly proficient in its use. Actually as far as the expression of ideas is concerned Chinese is a not less efficient, and a more delicate instrument than our own in addition to which it is incomparably more artistic from a calligraphic point of view. Written with a fine brush it has many of the qualities of painting. Indeed beautifully written Chinese scrolls are highly decorative and are used and treasured as we use and treasure pictures.

But Chinese undoubtedly suffers from practical disabilities or penalties perhaps one should say. Instantaneous recognition of some four or five thousand symbols is not acquired without considerable labour while familiarity with the many combinations in which they are used demands still longer study. The fact that about seventy five per cent of Chinese are illiterate is largely though by no means wholly due to that fact. Dissimilarity between literary and spoken Chinese is another handicap. Symbols, or characters, cannot be telegraphed. The only alternative to giving each symbol a number and telegraphing the latter (which with so many symbols means a great deal of coding and decoding) is to give them some form of romanization. But romanization has to confront the difficulty of distinguishing between large numbers of words which sound either very much, or exactly alike.

For some years past the Chinese have been trying to remedy these disabilities. As far as the script is concerned they are now using increasingly the characters which embody the words and expressions of everyday life. Also they are trying to reduce the number of characters, and have selected as the most often used some 1,200 instantaneous recognition of which enables a man to read a good deal of what is printed. Hence they are described, somewhat metaphorically as basic characters. Dr Simon, it may be noted in passing has recently produced an excellent volume about them.

As regards spoken Chinese after various experiments the Ministry of Education in 1928 promulgated a standardized romanization of Northern Chinese, which is now called the national language, and which it is hoped to get the whole country to use.

It is in this new romanization that Dr Simon's *Chinese Sentence Series* is pub-

lished, students at the School of Oriental and African Studies being now taught both to speak and to read the language by means of it.

Hitherto Chinese has been taught at the school and elsewhere in England, and in China in the case of British Consular students, missionaries and foreign employees of the Chinese Customs, through a system of romanization devised in the fifties of last century by Sir Thomas Wade. All our dictionaries and textbooks have been compiled according to his system, which has undoubtedly given good results. All our best speakers of Chinese have been trained on his lines. The virtual abandonment of his system by the School of Oriental and African studies is therefore, a considerable revolution.

The two systems are by no means mutually exclusive. On the contrary the basic romanizations in both systems are very similar, the changes involved being largely a matter of initial consonants merely. Thus unaspirated initial consonants like *p* *t* and *ch*, which in the Wade system are pronounced *b*, *d* and *j*, are in the new system written *b* *d* and *j* an appropriate change. Where these consonants are aspirated in the Wade system, an inverted comma is inserted between them and the vowel following as in the romanization of the Chinese word for tea, *ch'a*. In the new system the *ch* is allowed itself to express the aspirate sound as it does in our word *chat*. Other changes in initial consonants are less realistic but no more difficult for example, *ua* for *wa*, and *ia* for *ya*.

It is in respect of the intonations referred to above illustrated by the different ways in which the word *dead* may be articulated that the new system departs wholly from the Wade system. The latter indicated the four differing intonations of Northern Chinese—the four tones as they are called—by numerals, the numerals being used on the right hand side and a little above, the sound romanized. Thus the different intonations which a Pekingese gives to the monosyllabic word *ch'ang* when he is speaking of prostitutes or length or a factory or happiness are indicated in the Wade system thus *ch'ang<sup>1</sup>*, *ch'ang<sup>2</sup>*, *ch'ang<sup>3</sup>* and *ch'ang<sup>4</sup>*—*ch'ang* that is to say, in the first, second, third or fourth tones.

The new system represents these tones by changes in the spelling of what is called the basic form—the romanization that is to say adopted for the sound of the word when spoken in the first, and in certain cases in the second tone. Thus *ch'ang<sup>1</sup>*, *ch'ang<sup>2</sup>*, *ch'ang<sup>3</sup>* and *ch'ang<sup>4</sup>* become *chang*, *chang<sup>2</sup>*, *chang<sup>3</sup>* and *chang<sup>4</sup>*. Similarly, *sou<sup>1</sup>* (to search for), *sou<sup>2</sup>* (to shake) and *sou<sup>4</sup>* (to rinse) become *sou*, *soou* and *sow* while *tou<sup>1</sup>* (to steal), *tou<sup>2</sup>* (the head) and *tou<sup>4</sup>* (to pass through) become *tou*, *tour* and *tow*. These orthographic changes are made of course in accordance with certain rules, and it is claimed for them that, once the rules have been grasped the reader comes to remember the tones through the visual shape of the words, and that he does so much more easily in this way than by the use of numbers commas and other extraneous signs.

The fact that the Chinese think this, too, is obviously a strong argument in support of the opinion, and having heard one of Dr Simon's classes read aloud from the new romanization (the Chinese text of what they were reading being before me) I, who was brought up on the Wade system, can testify to the effectiveness of the new method. That is not, however, to testify to its superiority. Whether a different class, taught in accordance with the Wade system would not acquit itself equally well is another matter. Has that test, one wonders been employed? After all there is no great difficulty, after practice, in distinguishing between the second and third tones, or in distinguishing either from the first and fourth. It is in distinguishing between the two latter that the main difficulty lies, while in speaking rhythm counts almost as much as tone. Correct intonation does not, on the face of it, appear to be rendered easier by writing, for example, *peng* and *penq* instead of *p'eng<sup>1</sup>* and *p'eng<sup>4</sup>* or *pin* and *pinn* instead of *p'in<sup>1</sup>* and *p'in<sup>4</sup>*.

However, in this matter, as in so many others, the proof of the pudding is the eating and as already stated Dr Simon is being very successful in teaching colloquial Chinese through this new romanization. The statement, however, that the tones are 'inherent' in it "as they are inherent in the spoken word" (p. 15) is apt to be misleading, for it suggests that there is a similarity in sound between the word as romanized and as spoken. In many instances this is emphatically not the

case. There is no sound in Northern Chinese containing in it a final *q*, nor has it any sounds corresponding with such spellings as *yag*, *tye*, *jour*, *hœn*, *leeng*, *tsow*, *stœt*, or *tsyy*. The statement quoted means only that certain conventional indications of the intonations with which words should be spoken are included in the romanization instead of being shown extraneously as they are in the Wade system. In a second edition the statement might well be reworded.

In a second edition, also, something explanatory might with advantage be included in respect of words of which both pronunciation and intonation are precisely the same while their meanings are entirely different. The point is of more importance in respect of written than of spoken Chinese, and this textbook deals primarily and mainly with the latter. Nevertheless the point is worth illustrating. For instance *tsai' shu'* (Wade romanization) may mean an attorney or to carry letters. In the new romanization *tsai' shu'* becomes *day shu* which does not, apparently, distinguish between the two meanings any more than Wade's romanization does. Again, *tan' li'* (Wade's romanization) may mean simple interest or with the whole energy. So, too, apparently, does *dan lih* (the new romanization). Again *tsou' tzu* (Wade's romanization) may mean beans or it may mean smallpox. May not the new romanization of beans *dowtz* (or is it *dowtzyy*?), also mean smallpox?

In the script, of course, the different meanings are conveyed by different characters. Dr Simon appears to think (p. 14) that this new romanization may some day take the place of the script. So an explanatory word or two in a second edition about the examples given above—there are many more—would be welcome.

Dr Simon also appears to think (see p. 19) that learning the script is a hindrance to learning to speak—for some considerable time. In the experience of others my own included the reverse is the case. And I would frankly describe as disappointing the view that in many cases speaking and understanding may be all that will ever be required of the student during his stay in China. It may indeed—but only if the student is content with the status of an *ignotamus*.

THE FUTURE OF INDIA. By Penderel Moon. Pp. 66, large octavo. 16 pp. photographs. (The Pilot Press) 5s.

(Reviewed by EDWIN HAWARD)

The Editorial Board under whose auspices Mr. Moon produced this interesting book consists of Sir William Revereidge, Professor Lushington, and Sir Lushington Boyd Orr, with Mr. Charles Madge as Editor. Presumably therefore they must take some responsibility for the scope of Mr. Moon's study.

He starts with the economic problem, which he succinctly illustrates by asserting that the Indian has 1s for the Englishman's 5s. He deals with the backwardness of agriculture and assigns causes for it without failing to recognize the achievements of the Government in respect of research and fine works of engineering skill in its Irrigation Department.

He then discusses the political framework of India, the Muslims and the Pakistan proposal, the Cripps plan and the Indian States. His brief appreciation of the position of the Indian States is not unfair and he recognizes that the idea of eliminating them is impracticable. It is unfortunate that he mentions the theory that the States constitute obstacles to India's freedom without attempting to refute it. After all the introduction of the idea of federation into the practical discussion of India's future stands to the credit of the Indian Rulers as those who recall the first Round Table Conference will agree.

The latter part of the brochure discusses a Target for India, putting the extension of irrigation as first priority, but he does not make the mistake of other planners by ignoring the comparatively limited area still remaining for the operation of new irrigation works. Whether his suggestion that the aim should be to double the irrigated area (58 million acres) in the course of twenty years is feasible remains to be seen. His next priority is the increase in communications by road building,

and his third priority is the improvement and collectivization of agriculture, the latter based ultimately on the formation of village co-operative associations. He agrees that here ruthless compulsion such as was applied in Russia would be impracticable. His last priority is for the planning of industrial development not only in heavy industries but in light and cottage industries, with social services marked for considerable expansion.

His main point is that success in carrying out this planning must depend on the creation of a Government which has the support of the people to which it belongs. That, of course, is merely stating the basis on which the constitutional changes in India intensified since 1921 have been designed by Parliament.

Mr Moon regards British rule in India as sterile, and therefore handicaps the reader by omitting to explain exactly how far in the last twenty years or more the transfer of power has gone. This surely is a most important historical guide to the possibility of avoiding that anarchy which Mr Moon wants to see removed from the nightmare of the future.

His book would have been more satisfactory if he had been able to include in it some appreciation of the way in which India will ensure that security from external aggression which has been so important a factor in enabling her to assume the mantle of a Dominion-designate. Incidentally his shrewd judgment of Indian psychology has good scope, and he courageously appeals for greater attention to the need for making the literate leaders. This, he rightly says, is even more pressing than plans for making the illiterate literate.

*The views expressed in these pages must be taken as those of the individual contributors. THE ASIATIC REVIEW does not hold itself responsible for them.*

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